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The AMERICAN TEACHER

NOVEMBER
DECEMBER
1937

A YEAR'S VICTORIES

An Editorial

A PROGRAM OF DEFENSE

By Arnold Shukotoff

ETHICS OF BIG BUSINESS - - - - - by George E. Axtelle

DEMOCRACY IN UNION LIFE - - - by W. W. Wattenberg

MEXICO REPORTS - - - - - by Joaquin Espinosa Prieto

The AFT Makes the Headlines

Calling College Teachers

Shall We Affiliate?

In Black and White

A Bid for Unity

OFFICIAL ORGAN of the AMERICAN FEDERATION of TEACHERS

Denver, Colorado
October 14, 1937.

FELLOW MEMBERS OF THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF TEACHERS:

I am writing from Denver where, with Irvin Kuenzli, I am attending the Convention of the American Federation of Labor. This letter is to remind you officially of the special one dollar per capita assessment, which our last convention unanimously and enthusiastically voted to levy for organizational work.

President Green at the A. F. of L. convention now in session has publicly chided our organization for not having succeeded in organizing a larger percentage of the teachers in the Nation. Even so, we now have more teachers organized than ever before in our history, and there are only three unions in the American Federation of Labor that have grown faster since 1929 than we have. Our votes in the A. F. of L. Convention in 1937 were approximately four times as many as in 1929.

The Convention of the American Federation of Teachers in Madison recognized the crucial necessity of going forward now. We have an unparalleled opportunity to organize the teachers this year. The Federal Administration is friendly to our efforts and so are many of the state departments of education. Relying on the payment of this dollar assessment by every member, your Executive Council has already definitely employed organizers.

The entire success of this organizing campaign depends upon your paying as promptly as possible the dollar assessment. May I urge you to send this money in now, if possible, and, if not, to inform the national office when we can probably expect it.

With fraternal greetings and wishes for the success of your local during the coming year, I am

Loyally yours,
JEROME DAVIS,
President
AMERICAN FEDERATION OF TEACHERS.

The AMERICAN TEACHER

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NOVEMBER-DECEMBER, 1937

NUMBER 2

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NEA-AFT Unity

on Educational Equalization

At a conference arranged by Mrs. Grossman, our national legislative representative, the American Federation of Teachers and the National Education Association established a joint committee to work for the enactment of legislation providing federal aid to education. Last year the NEA and the AFT submitted separate bills. After hearings before the Senate committee the Harrison-Black-Fletcher bill supported by the NEA was amended to meet the AFT proposals that money be allocated so as to give proportionately more money to poorer states and to make sure that no discrimination would be practiced against Negroes. The AFT then supported the amended bill. The formation of a joint committee of both organizations improves the prospects for equalizing educational opportunities. It makes it possible to hope, for example, that the pupil in Mississippi upon whose education only nineteen dollars is spent per year may come nearer to the level of the New York pupil upon whose education \$124 is spent per year, and that

educational opportunities for Negroes may be increased. This is the first time these two national organizations have united for a common drive. It is of tremendous importance that the teachers of the nation have been able to put aside all differences in fighting for the welfare of the children of this country. Let us hope that this first step may lead the teachers to unite on a broader program for the improvement of education and teaching conditions.

A Million Pupils Get Lunches

In 10,000 schools throughout the country 80,000,000 hot lunches were served to 1,000,000 under-nourished school children during the past year and a half. These startling figures tell the story of a great service rendered through the Works Progress Administration lunch program. The fact that many pupils who benefited by the hot school lunch were receiving their only real meal in twenty-four hours reveals the appalling handicap under which many children are forced to attend school. The midday meal has been manna to the poor Georgia pupils whose typical home meal consists of cold bread or cold sweet potato; it has supplemented the corn bread-and-molasses which forms the mainstay for many Colorado children. Cause and effect were never so patent as in the case of these children who were given decent nourishment. Official WPA and school records show remarkable improvement in their physical appearance and general health. These pupils gaining in energy and alertness improved scholastically to an astonishing degree. Books and other classroom paraphernalia can be completely ineffectual when pupils are hungry. The educational problem has to be tackled on a broader and more fundamental basis, taking into consideration the physical as well as the mental needs of the children. The lunch program is a step in the right direction. Whatever good has been accomplished must not be eradicated by the general curtailment of WPA funds. Instead, there is a crying need for an extension of the lunch program to include school children who are still in want. Surely a demand for food for hungry children is not too much to ask for the future citizens of our country.

Pro-Fascist Lecture Protested

Considerable resentment was expressed by teachers who attended the Geography Section of the Northwestern Ohio Teachers' Association at Cleveland, October 29, following an illustrated talk on "The Mediterranean in World

Affairs" by Dr. Michael M. Dorizas, Professor of Geography at the University of Pennsylvania. He repeatedly and incorrectly characterized the conflict between the democratically elected government of Spain and the Fascists who took up arms against their legal democratic government as a war between Communism and Fascism. The intervention activities of the Germans and Italians and the murder of civilians by Nazi and Fascist bombers were overlooked. Among those who protested was Mr. David Pierce, a member of the AFT, who wrote to Dr. Dorizas: "Your interpretation was false in painting Franco in glowing colors. Your efforts to win laughs from the audience while concealing the massacre of innocent women and children by Nazis and Fascists did not, however, go unnoticed. We are aware that you have furnished hundreds of uninformed teachers with dangerous misinformation." We urge our members to be on the alert to protest against speakers who, like Dr. Dorizas, use their official title and reputation to spread among teachers a pro-Fascist interpretation of the legitimate fight of the Spanish people to preserve the government of their own choice.

AFT Before the President's Advisory Committee

AFT representatives spoke in November at a conference arranged by the President's Advisory Committee on Education. Dr. Davis explained the general policy of the AFT which aimed to make democracy in education a reality. Miss Walsh urged that the committee advocate a Model Tenure Bill for all states, after describing the merits of the Pennsylvania Tenure Bill. Mrs. Grossman recommended educational equalization in Federal Aid, describing the features which make it superior to the Harrison-Black-Fletcher Bill. The Advisory Committee was definitely interested in an equalization bill such as the AFT bill obviously is. Mrs. Grossman pleaded that the Arts Projects be made permanent as provided in the Coffee Bill. She stressed the need for the development of an American culture through federal aid and guidance. At present the general prognostications are favorable. The NEA is cooperating with the AFT to achieve Federal Aid. The President's Advisory Committee shows interest in real equalization features. It remains for the teaching body of the country to influence public opinion and to exert such tremendous pressure in Congress that an effective Federal Aid law will be the result.

Industry's Program of Radio Education

The Department of Commerce has recently shown a conspicuous interest in radio education. Following a series of thirty weekly broadcasts on great American industries, which ended in August, the Department began a new series on October 19th. Significant to teachers is the fact that the new series of the Department will be produced

in active cooperation with the United States Office of Education. The scripts, partly narrative, partly dramatic, will be edited by the Office of Education. But the Department has another "educational" ace up its sleeve. On each program a six minute talk will be given by a representative of big business on "some social or economic topic of vital timely interest." Already listed are chairmen of some of the largest monopolies in America—Clarence Francis, President of General Foods Corporation, Walter Teagle, Chairman of the Board of the Standard Oil Company, E. R. Stettinius, Jr., Chairman of the Finance Committee of U. S. Steel, and Gerard Swope, President of General Electric Company. What will these men, and others, have to

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say about their labor policies, about the security of the wage-earner, and about his wages? Will they attempt to educate their listeners on these most fundamental questions of industry? Will the programs dramatize unemployment, methods of strike-breaking, and the anti-union formulas of employers in operation? On the series, Secretary Roper says, "I long have felt that the best way to solve many of our most profound social and economic problems is to give the public a complete understanding of all the facts involved." Then, why not, as President Davis has already suggested to Mr. Studebaker, add representatives of labor to the programs?

Facts and the Courage to Teach Them

Speaking before the United Parents Association on November 6, Aubrey G. Williams, director of the National Youth Administration, pointed out that farmers in some sections of the South get as little as \$180 per year to live on, and that 30,000 families in America have total incomes that equal the incomes of 10,000,000 families "at the bottom of the heap". Free education, according to Mr. Williams, is something that we "find ourselves romancing about". Of 9,500,000 persons between the ages of fourteen and seventeen, 3,500,000 do not attend high school. "But you say the schools are free," he said. "Why don't these children go to school? For the great bulk of these children there is but one answer. They cannot afford to. They have neither the clothes to wear nor the food to eat, so they stay at home; or the school is so far away that they have no means of transportation. . . . On the role of the teacher and the school in this situation, he commented, "I often wonder why educators do not spend more of their time discussing the great spread of family income. There is no use talking to a boy in South Carolina about going to school when the average income of his father is \$129 per year. . . . These boys want to go to school. They don't know why there is no more pay in their parents' pay envelope. One of the great functions which the public schools could furnish is to tell them why. I never meet a teacher who has the courage or the guts to teach these facts that I don't feel like saying, 'God bless him!'"

Now is the Time for Unity

The Tories at this session of Congress are united in their drive against progressive and labor legislation. If for no other reason than to supply the nation with a unified labor movement to help insure the passage of the much needed wages-and-hours bill and other labor legislation, the AFL-CIO peace parleys, now being conducted in Washington, should not adjourn without constructive achievement. Numerous messages calling for unity have been sent to the conference by AFL and CIO unions. Presidential pressure for unity in the labor movement has recently been evident, and this may

help in the formulation of a workable arrangement. The fact that the meetings have taken place and that the discussions are continuing, lends substance to the hope. . . . The commencement of the conferences witnessed the presentation of the 100 per cent program of each group. Briefly, the AFL demanded dissolution of the CIO, agreed to take back the original CIO unions, with the fate of the many other new CIO unions to be decided by the AFL. The CIO demanded the right to continue to function as an autonomous body within the AFL, and stipulated that industrial organization must continue to be the method of organizing the mass production industries. The serious question that must now concern us all lies in the degree to which compromise can be made by the CIO without sacrifice of principle. . . . The American Federation of Teachers has for many years recorded its full support of the principle of industrial unionization. Today it is evident that with production organized in large industrial units, labor must likewise be organized industrially to cope with the situation. In these industries, the craft-union set up bogs down hopelessly. That industrial organization is imperative, and that it really works may now be taken as demonstrated fact. For this reason, there can't be any retreat from the principle of industrial unions for the mass production industries. Nothing else will organize the unorganized. Add to this the fact that the rank and file members of both organizations want unity and believe it possible, and the demand for a peace formula becomes doubly powerful. . . . Can such a formula be found? Preliminary discussions in Washington are not yet sufficiently definitive at the present stage, but any solution will have to follow these lines: (a) an agreement must be reached upon which industries are to be organized industrially, presumably with the understanding that the remaining industries are to continue and extend their craft organization, and (b) specific jurisdictional disputes are to be settled by committees of the conference. Subcommittees of the conference are now working on precisely these problems. . . . If unity is to be achieved, now is one of the best moments for it.

The AFT National Legislative Committee has set up a Model Bill Bureau to draw up model bills on tenure, sabbatical leaves, pensions and retirement, absence refunds, etc.

Locals desiring this service should submit their problems to

Dr. Ross Tahlheimer
2311 North Charles Street
Baltimore, Md.

A YEAR'S VICTORIES

An Editorial

LAST YEAR'S RECORD offers evidences of striking advances and achievements which accompanied the growth of the AFT in organizational strength. Victories have been of five distinct kinds: 1. salary increase or restoration; 2. legislation affecting teacher conditions; 3. legislation affecting academic freedom and civil liberties; 4. reinstatements; 5. elections to public office.

Full salary restoration was won in New York, in Elyria and Springfield, O., and in Sacramento, Cal. Atlanta, Ga., reports full salary restoration in this issue. Toledo, O., received a guarantee of 85 per cent of salary schedule in place of the 50 per cent guarantee which had prevailed. In Cleveland salaries were restored to within 96 per cent of schedule. AFT locals in the Canal Zone won salary increases through legislation in Congress.

In the way of legislation, one of the outstanding achievements of last year was the passage of the Pennsylvania tenure law introduced by AFT locals. In New Jersey, the teachers unions succeeded in preventing passage of a bill which would have undermined tenure by making it possible for a teacher to be discharged after physical examination by an administration-picked physician. The efforts of the Seattle local won an appropriation for the Washington State University \$388,000 in advance of the budget as it was prepared by the Governor. Toledo won a four-year contract, the right to hearing before dismissal, the rescinding of discriminatory rules against married women teachers and against dual-employment in one family. The teachers unions in Michigan were successful in winning revision of the pension system. The previous system provided for annual pensions of \$500. The new system provides for pensions from \$600 to \$1200.

Victories were also won in legislation affecting academic freedom and civil liberties. In New York the McNaboe investigation of "subversive" activities in the schools was killed. In Washington, D. C., the "red rider"—under which, each month before they could receive their pay checks, teachers were subjected to the indignity of swearing they had not taught (i.e. mentioned) Communism—was repealed. A sedition bill, aimed primarily at Commonwealth College, where there is an AFT local, was killed in the Arkansas legislature through a nation-wide protest. The repeal of the Teachers Loyalty Oath law was voted in both houses of the Massachusetts legislature, though final repeal was blocked by the veto of a reactionary governor. The right of St. Louis teachers to organize was firmly established when, after a two year struggle on the part of the St. Louis local and the AFT nationally, the Board of Education repealed a yellow dog ruling against AFT membership for St. Louis teachers.

Among struggles for reinstatement, two victories, though only partial, are especially indicative of growing power. The Yale Corporation, yielding to well-organized pressure, granted Professor Jerome Davis full salary for a year despite original claims that the dismissal was the result of budgetary considerations. The Harvard Corporation granted Dr. J. Raymond Walsh and Dr. Alan R. Sweezy two-year appointments "without prejudice" in place of concluding appointments. Other reinstatements have been won in Akron, Cleveland (WPA local) and Elyria, O. The Milwaukee Vocational School Local won reinstatement for two union members and a Milwaukee public school reinstatement has just been reported. The AFT has been under heavy fire in Michigan, and has won victories there. Two of five teachers in Flint, dismissed because of their sympathy with the automobile strikers, were reinstated and the struggle for reinstatement of the other three continues. Reinstatements were won in Wisconsin Rapids, Ann Arbor, and Highland Park.

In Wisconsin Rapids, Ann Arbor, and Highland Park the reinstatements were accomplished through political action—the election of people sympathetic to the union cause to School Committees. In Wisconsin Rapids, the election victory was preceded by a successful petition for recall. In addition to the election of union sympathizers to school committee positions, the AFT has won direct victories in the election of union members to various public offices. Stanley Atwood of Local 200 was made State Superintendent of Public Instruction in the State of Washington; Hugh DeLacy, regional Vice-President for the Northwest, was elected to City Council in Seattle; in San Dimas, Cal., Jerry Voorhis was elected to United States Congress. These instances do not include numerous elections of labor candidates in which locals participated. The victories reported in this issue from Boston, Mass., and Cincinnati, O., are merely first returns. Local 5 participated in widely successful campaigns of American Labor Party candidates in New York. Through its labor affiliation—even in places where locals are small—the AFT is beginning to break the strangle hold of reaction on the schools.

It is to be hoped that many locals will be distressed to find their particular victories omitted in this summary and that such locals will be inspired to send in brief summaries of their own. It is an enviable record from which no local would want to be omitted. Nevertheless, in relation to decisions of the Madison Convention—the policies derived and the committees established to implement them—last year's successes appear only a part of an accumulative process which will be carried much further in the year on which we are now entered.

A Program of Defense

By ARNOLD SHUKOTOFF

Outlining concrete methods that have been found effective in protecting victimized teachers

FROM TEACHERS throughout the country have recently come many questions regarding the tactics to be used in defending victimized teachers. "Is publicity good?" they ask. Do protest meetings help? What purpose is served by condemnatory telegrams and resolutions? Is not quiet, inside pressure more effective than a public campaign? There are other questions. Shall we take up imperfect cases? Would it not be more effective to fight for tenure laws rather than combat individual cases of victimization? Can we not look to the courts for protection of academic freedom? How shall we work to prevent victimizations?

To answer all of these questions would require a good-sized booklet. But before we attempt to answer a few of these, we must face a basic fact. School boards and college boards of trustees are overwhelmingly dominated by America's economic royalists. By far and large, these men are not concerned with extending educational opportunity; they are not interested in securing for teachers decent salaries and tenure; nor are they willing to grant that degree of freedom which will make it possible to secure these things.

1. How Shall We Prepare to Defend Victimized Teachers?

This question may also be rephrased to read: How shall we discourage school boards from attempting dismissals? There is only one answer: Build strong, active teacher organizations. The probability of dismissals may almost be expressed as an equation. Where the power of teachers as an organized group is equal to or greater than the power of the board, there the board will hesitate to dismiss. By the word "power" we mean *the ability to muster a favorable and an articulate public opinion*. Recent cases reveal that, where the boards expect overwhelming protest, they will not even dare a real test of teacher power. In Darby, Pa., for example, the school board threatened several dismissals. Immediately, the Darby and Philadelphia teacher unions demanded an open hearing such as is required by the new tenure law. When the representatives of the locals appeared at the hearing, it lasted two minutes during which a representative of the board announced that the boards had decided to retain the two teachers. Similarly, at the University of Washington, no sooner had the local teachers union sent letters to the press and no sooner had the local Central Trades and Labor Council made representations to

the board than the administration backed down on three contemplated dismissals.

It should be recognized that effectiveness is ultimately determined by activity as well as membership. Most teacher unions are smaller than corresponding state teacher organizations and parallel AAUP chapters, yet it is no secret that the smaller unions have won greater gains in many instances than the larger organizations. This is so because they have a clearer understanding of the forces lined up against them, a clearer perception of teacher needs, and a greater willingness to act.

2. What Are the Essentials of a Campaign to Reinstatement an Ousted Teacher?

The preceding discussion suggests that whoever wields effectively the lever of public opinion wins. This assertion gives the answer to the question regarding the forcefulness of inside pressure as against public pressure. We need not deny that the intervention of a friendly board member or a liberal governor or mayor at times is helpful to recognize that the basic need in any campaign is the creation of a favorable public opinion. The cases are legion in which reliance on inside pressure unsupported by public pressure resulted in defeat. The decisive force in organizing public opinion today is organized labor.

It ought also to be noted that the need for favorable public opinion does not disappear at any point. It sometimes is necessary, as in the Jewett case of California, or the Keeney-Rowe case of Montana, to carry a fight from administrator to school board, from school board to lower courts, from lower courts to higher courts and so on up the scale. Yet public pressure is necessary at every point. Experience indicates, in fact, that the further the case is carried, the greater the pressure needed to achieve results. We should, therefore, spare no effort to force capitulation at the earliest stage. But having suffered a setback here, we must not neglect any avenue for securing reinstatement. Investigations and reports, appeals to school boards, petitions to city and state officials, court suits—all may be of some assistance. But ultimately their usefulness depends upon the motor power we put behind them.

Another basic need is speed. Once a dismissal is threatened or announced, we must avoid delay in ascertaining the

facts and in fighting a case of unjustified dismissal. Experience has shown that the longer the delay in taking up a case, the more difficult it becomes to secure reinstatement. And reinstatement—not simply loud protest—must be our objective.

The danger of delay appears in several factors. First, false rumors spread by the administrator take effect upon colleagues, and unified teacher protest is prevented. Second, the fighting morale of the teaching body, usually quite low, is lowered still more. No matter how unjustified the dismissal, unorganized teachers shrink from expressing disapproval unless organized teachers take a bold stand and take it quickly. Third, dismissals, not unlike greater tragedies, become accepted facts. The longer the delay in initiating protest, the more accepted the dismissal becomes, and the more difficult it is to arouse resentment.

3. What Instruments Are to be Used in Campaigning for Reinstatement?

While we work to arouse the widest public resentment, we must strive also to project that sentiment at its greatest intensity upon the offending party. Four general instruments are available for that purpose: written protest; protest action; newspaper publicity; political action.

A. *Written protest* may take various forms: telegrams, resolutions of condemnation, personal letters of protest, petitions, and the printed postcard barrage. All are useful. Nothing so plagues an unjust administrator as a stream of protests pouring in upon him day after day from every part of the country and from a vast variety of organizations and people.

The College Section of the New York Local learned this during the Schappes case. A delegation visiting a member of the Board of Higher Education was confronted with a sheaf of papers and the hysterical cry: "When will this stop? We've heard from everybody. It's ridiculous." And holding up a letter of protest from one of the unions, he exclaimed: "Will you gentlemen tell me what in the world meat cutters have to do with academic freedom?" That the Board was sensitive to all this protest was indicated not only by the Board member's hysteria, but by the friendly letters of acknowledgment received by most protestants, including the meat cutters.

B. One form of *protest action*, the union mass meeting, has long been employed by teachers. Lately, however, extremely effective use has been made of outdoor meetings, parades, and even picket lines. On May 15 last, for example, a group of sixty teachers journeyed to Yale, held a protest meeting on the steps of the Yale Divinity School Chapel, and then marched as a body to the home of President Angell to present a demand for Professor Davis' reinstatement. The following day, the New Haven press, which had avoided mention of Professor Davis' ouster from the end of October

until the middle of May, printed a story of almost a column. The press blockade had been broken by *action*, where no other device could have worked.

In the Davis case, picketing was also used with tremendous effect. On Saturday, June 12, at 11:00 A.M., more than 250 teachers met at the New Haven Railroad station. Bearing placards aloft and attired in cap and gown, they marched single file on the sidewalk from the station through the center of the town, to Woodbridge Hall. Town officials were non-plussed. No parade permit had been requested because the teachers knew none would be granted. But this was not a parade. The single file line moved on the sidewalk, and with remarkable effect. Citizens, who had come into town for their Saturday shopping, could not avoid reading the placards as they walked toward the marchers, while others walking in the same direction as the marchers asked questions and, proceeding along next to the marchers, experienced an unavoidable sense of participation in the moving picket line. Strange as it may seem, one of the citizens turned to a marcher, and asked: "Who is this Professor Davis? Some professor who was fired from a mid-western university?" Nothing could have played a more effective informational role in press-silent New Haven than the picket.

But this was not all that was accomplished by the roving picket line of June 12. The marchers proceeded up to the Yale campus, and began weaving around Woodbridge Hall, the building in which a meeting of the Yale Corporation was in session. Prior to June 12, the Yale Administration had rejected three requests of the AFT for an interview on the Davis case. Earlier that week it had refused a request for a conference on the very day of the picket.



But the picket line was irresistible. As the marchers began moving around the building, the Secretary of the Yale Corporation suddenly appeared on the steps and announced to the head of the delegation that the Corporation would see a small committee. Five members of the Federation went in and, each in turn, presented a demand for Professor Davis' reinstatement. According to the *New York Times*, this was "the first hearing ever given to an outside organization" by the Yale Corporation in the history of Yale. Twelve days after the picketed interview, Professor Davis was notified that the Corporation had voted to continue his salary for another year.

C. *Publicity* is a potent but difficult weapon to wield. School boards and administrations always have more ready access to it and frequently are in a position, as in the Davis case, to shut out all notices coming from the opposition. Ultimately, there is only one way of breaking such a press blockade—*action*, and the more dramatic the action, the more likely it is to secure space. The press may ignore notices of written protest; it may ignore union analyses of a case, but it cannot ignore activity.

At times an unfriendly press may be brought to terms through pressure. Delegations to the editor are quite effective. Protests from advertisers work—if you can get them. Letters from readers are influential. All of these instruments acquire special force if prominent citizens in the community, or nationally known figures, lend their names. But quantity—a series of delegations, a barrage of letters—is undoubtedly equally, sometimes even more, effective.

Columnists are sometimes friendly even where news and editorial columns are not. Locals should therefore make a practice of supplying the men who write columns with the most complete information. A number of national liberal magazines are friendly. Releases should also be sent to the student press and to labor papers and journals throughout the country.

Since the press and periodical publicity are always uncertain, the only really reliable instrument for union publicity is a union publication. Through such a publication, we may present the facts of the case in detail; analyze the issues and develop the implications; give proof of the victimized teacher's ability; describe new developments; answer false rumors; show in detail the support given to the union's campaign by persons and organizations.

The appropriateness of these remarks is vividly shown in two of the Federation's most recent victories. In the Klein case at Brooklyn College, a bulletin was issued weekly for several months. In the Schappes case at the College of the City of New York, a bulletin appeared *daily* for more than thirty-four days. Both cases resulted in the reinstatement of the men threatened with dismissal, and the union

bulletins are recognized as having played critical roles in the achievement of victory.

4. Political Action.

In a number of recent cases, teacher unions have found the pressure exerted by written protest, protest action, and publicity, inadequate to achieve their demands. They have, therefore, been compelled to resort to the use of still greater pressure—political action. In Highland Park, Mich., for example, the union found, after a year of struggle, that it could not reinstate six unjustly ousted teachers. When the time for electing a new school board came around, the Michigan Federation of Teachers determined to oppose reelection of all the candidates who had upheld the dismissals. Instead the Federation supported candidates whose sole campaign platform was reinstatement. The election was successful and the six teachers are now back at their posts.

Perhaps a more significant instance is offered by the experience of the St. Louis local. It found, after some efforts, that the Board of Education would not rescind a fifteen-year old rule barring employment to teachers who were members of a union. Working against great odds, the St. Louis local put up its own candidate for the school board on a non-partisan ticket. After the necessary 9,000 signatures had been secured for the nominating petition, the election commissioners turned the petition down. A writ of mandamus to compel inclusion of the candidate was asked. Five days before election it was granted.

The union's candidate polled only 6½ per cent of the vote cast. But a week after election, a motion was put on the books to rescind the anti-union rule. One month later, the rule was rescinded. The union's candidate had lost, but the pressure of independent political action had won.

These two cases suggest the possibilities implicit in political action. Teachers throughout the country have found that organized labor is their friend. In Pennsylvania, for example, it was the labor men who introduced the liberal teacher tenure bill under which teachers now work. In Milwaukee, it was the labor members of the school board, together with an employer who ran a closed shop, that voted the reinstatement of Dr. Colin Welles and Ira D. Pilliard. In Flint, dismissal of five teachers led to the sponsoring of a huge mass meeting by the United Automobile Workers of America, for which more than half of the town population turned out.

All of these cases, as well as those cited earlier, indicate that in order to protect and extend academic freedom, teachers require *that united action of their profession, organized labor, and the community* which ordinarily is sought in campaigns for reinstatement, but which is most forcefully achieved in independent political action.

CHART I. INCOME PER INHABITANT, 5 TO 17 YEARS OF AGE
1930

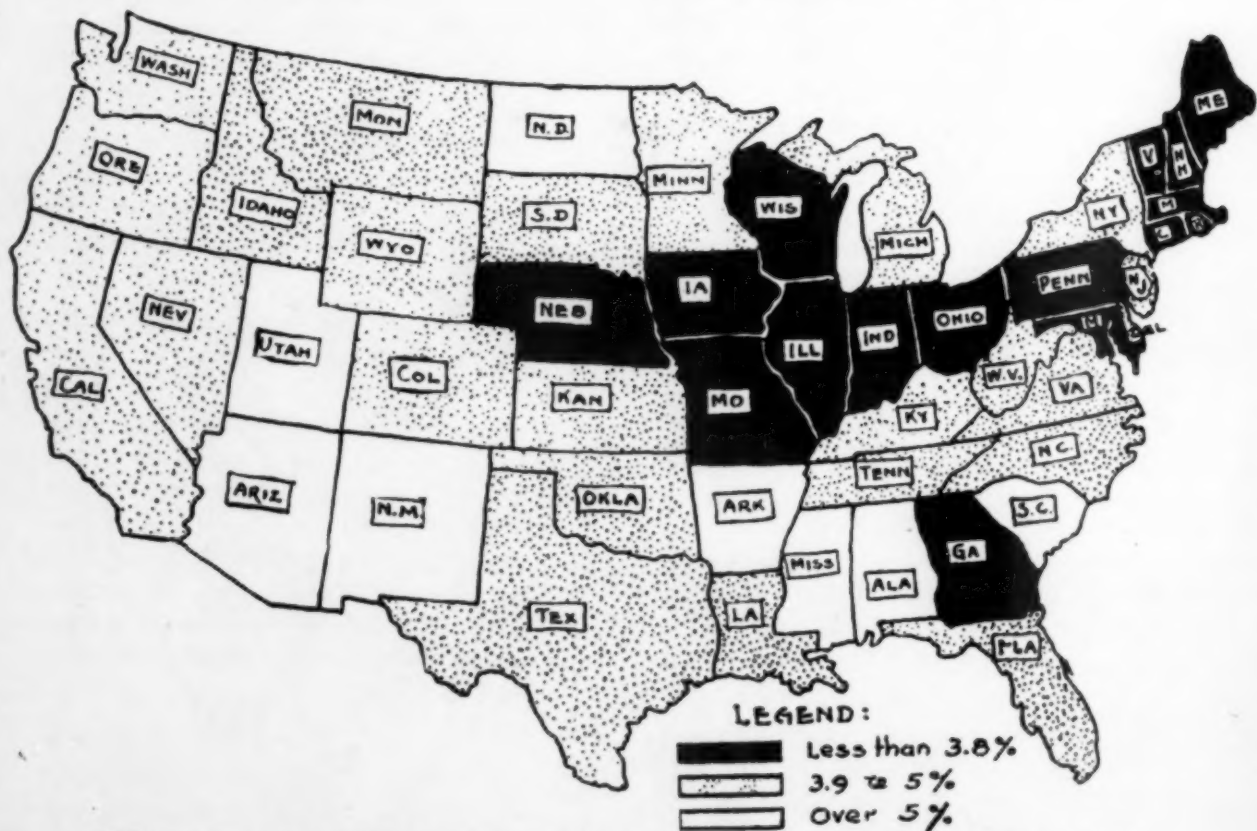
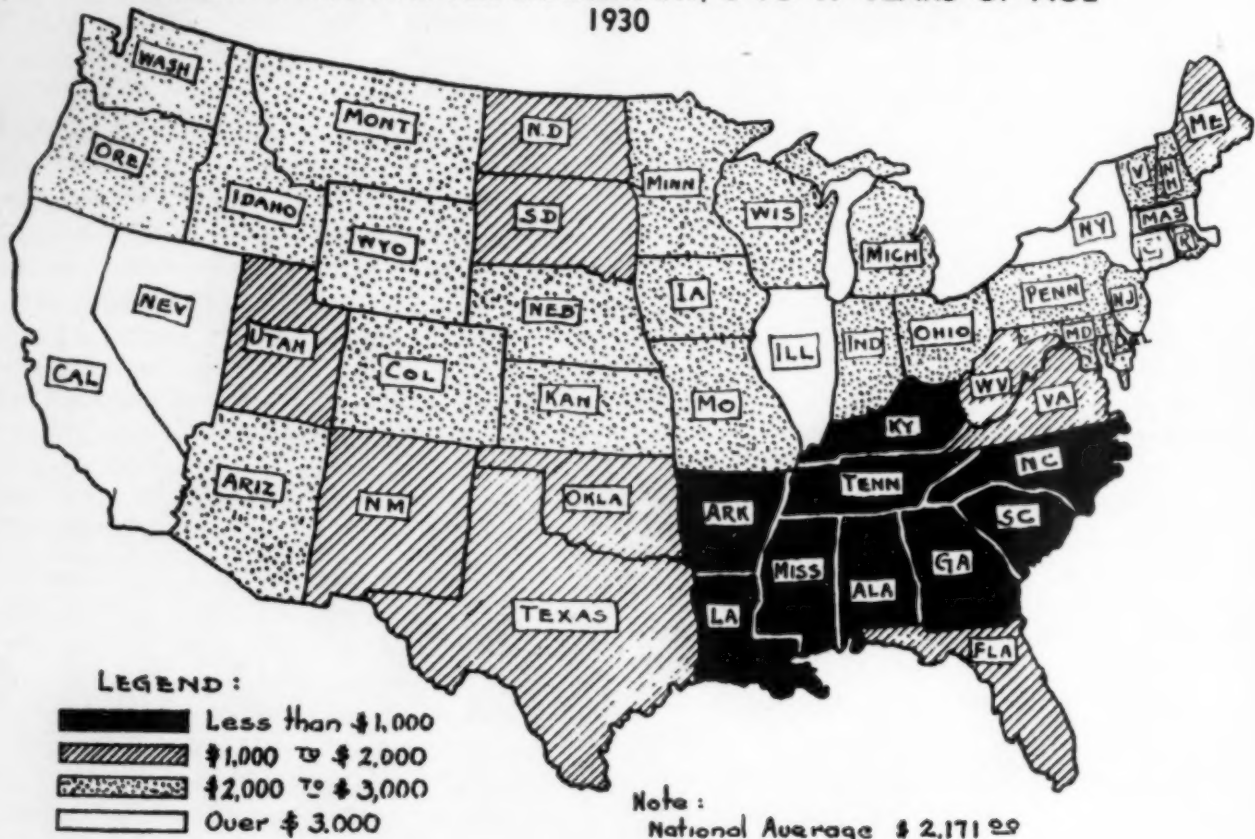


CHART II. PER CENT OF TOTAL INCOME FOR PUBLIC EDUCATION
1930

"IN BLACK AND WHITE"

DATA ISSUED IN A PAMPHLET, *School Money in Black and White*, by the Julius Rosenwald Fund, Chicago, indicate graphically the need for educational equalization, while offering some insight into the comparative ability and attempts of the various states to provide schooling for their children. The booklet argues powerfully, by the mere presentation of charts and graphs, the crying need for such legislation as is embodied in the NEA-AFT Equalization Bill. Especially striking is the discrimination against the Negro child in the distribution of moneys for schooling.

The comparative poverty of the South, long recognized (its average per capita wealth in 1930 was \$1,785 as compared with \$3,609 for the states outside the South, and, while the national average wealth per school child was \$10,200, the median of the thirteen southern states except Maryland was \$4,900) is perhaps best indicated by a chart (No. 1) showing the *income* per school child (5 to 17 years). The national average of annual income was \$2,171; the median for the thirteen southern states is two-fifths of this, \$872. National extremes range from Mississippi with an annual income of \$512 per child, to Nevada with \$3,788.

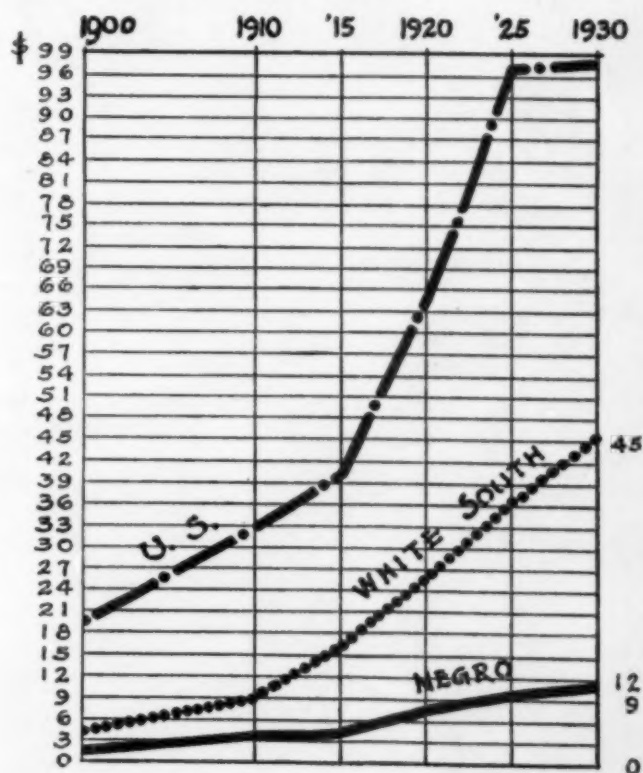
A fact frequently not noted is that the South makes at least as great an attempt to maintain schools as the rest of the country, in the proportion of funds it expends. In the percentage of tax money put into schools, for example, the average state spent 40.2% of all local and state tax collections for schools. The average for fourteen southern states is 41.3. A better measure of effort to support education is the percentage of total income spent (Chart No. 2). Georgia and Maryland are the only southern states spending less than the national average, which is 3.8.

Figures that amply bear out the conclusions of Dr. Charles H. Thompson's article in *THE AMERICAN TEACHER* last spring show the discrimination among various classes of school children in America (Chart No. 3). Compared with a national average annual expenditure of \$99 for each pupil, the expenditure for white children in the South was \$44.41, and that for Negro children was \$12.57, about one-eighth of the expenditure for the average pupil of the nation.

In certain states with large Negro populations the discrimination is still greater; Georgia, whose record is 'bad in every tabulation presented in the Rosenwald booklet, spends an average of \$35.42 for each white pupil and \$6.38 for each Negro per year. The figures for Mississippi are \$45.34 against \$5.45. Children of the three million Negroes of the deep South have less than one-fifteenth the opportunity of the average American child. Negro public schools in eleven southern states for which records are available received in 1930 a total of \$23,461,959, while the white pupils in the same states received \$216,718,221.

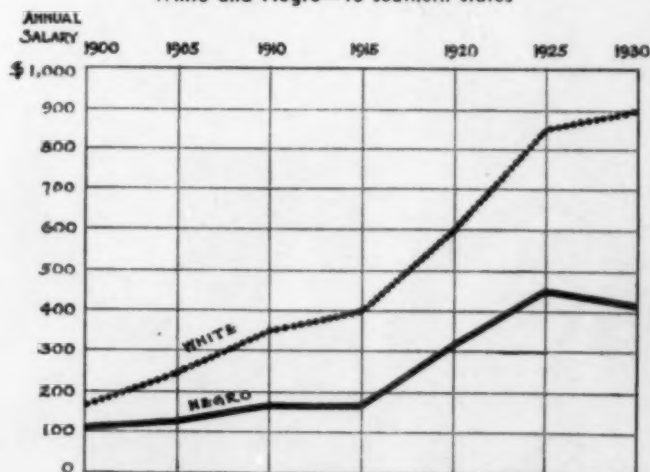
Teachers' salaries show the same discrepancies (Chart

No. 4). In 1900 the Negro teacher's annual salary in thirteen southern states was \$106, or 65% of the white teacher's. In 1930 the salaries of both had increased, but the Negro's salary, \$423, was only 47% of the white teacher's \$901. Public school properties carry out the same disproportion. It would require \$240,000,000 to bring the per pupil investment in Negro schools up to that of the white. Value of school plant in 1930 for each white southern pupil was \$157; for each Negro pupil, \$37.



(Above) Chart III. Average Annual Expenditure per Pupil (from U. S. Office of Education and State Departments)

(Below) Chart IV. Trend in Average Annual Teachers' Salaries White and Negro—13 southern states



Shall We Affiliate?

Continuing the AFL-CIO Forum

To the Editors.

We in the American Federation of Teachers will be called upon very shortly to make a definite decision upon a fundamental trade union policy—the question of affiliation with the CIO. Our stand upon this issue will to a very great extent determine the future of the AFT. It is a decision not to be lightly made. It is a decision to be made upon only one basis: the records of the A. F. of L. and the CIO in the past two years.

As a teacher in the Philadelphia school system, I should like to begin at home by citing the support given by the CIO in the successful campaign for tenure and sabbatical leave. As a result of this support, Pennsylvania teachers now have the strongest tenure law in the country. This is but one of the instances in which the CIO has aided progressive teacher legislation.

In the broader field of organized labor, the CIO stands for the progressive principles of industrial unionism—principles which the AFT has endorsed, and which have brought into the organized labor movement thousands of unorganized workers in the mass production industries. No single organization could have achieved this, had there not been a tremendous need for just such a movement on the part of the workers of America. It was the CIO which took cognizance of this need, and directed this movement into progressive and constructive channels.

While the CIO has been building a stronger labor movement, the A. F. of L. has been using all its resources to hold on to its waning power and prestige. There has been no thought in the minds of the A. F. of L. leaders for the welfare of the worker. They have been actuated by a single motive—to save the A. F. of L. That vast changes in industry require corresponding changes in trade union organization means nothing to them. That a newer, stronger organization may supersede their own seems to mean everything.

History is moving forward, carrying many things with it, leaving others behind. The American Federation of Teachers belongs with the forward movement. And the forward movement today is the CIO.

CAROLINE R. POTAMKIN,
Philadelphia, Pa.

To the Editors:

After giving myself a little time for reflection on the question of labor affiliation, I am persuaded that the logical course for the American Federation of Teachers in the present crisis is that of independence. By this I do not mean neutrality. Nor do I propose aloofness or separation from the labor movement. Nothing could be farther from my thought than cowardice or backing off from an issue. All I want is a course answering to the realities. What are these?

1. The first "whereas" of the referendum resolution declares that "the AFT stands for unity in the American labor movement." Close affiliation with either the A. F. of L. or the CIO would not make for unity at the present moment, though friendship with both and with all other organizations of labor would do so.

2. Members of the AFT, equally sincere in devotion to the principles of the Federation, are honestly divided as to the best course. A policy of independence should allow for these differences without offending the conscience of any one.

3. The AFT should reassert solidarity with labor and moral affiliation with both of these organizations, as well as with the great Railway Brotherhoods.

4. Continued integral affiliation with the A. F. of L., in view of some of its reactionary policies, is embarrassing and compromising.

5. Indorsement of the principles of industrial unionism and appreciation of the aims and successes of CIO should be continued.

It is regretted that the question to be submitted does not allow for expression in favor of the course here recommended. If not in violation of the instructions of the 1937 convention, I suggest that the course here proposed be included in the referendum.

JOHN C. GRANBERY,
Professor of Philosophy,
Southwestern University,
Georgetown, Texas.



President's Page

THE NEXT WAR is already on. In China, Japan is trying to bomb, bayonet and shoot her way to military power and glory. In Spain Franco with the aid of Mussolini and Hitler is trying to carve out another state through violence and bloodshed. London has begun to fear a possible raid of one thousand German airplanes which might attempt to blow up and burn up the metropolis without a declaration of war.

Europe has today about 6,000,000 men under arms with 28,000,000 in reserve. She is spending \$20,000 a minute in preparation for war with her military budgets now exceeding ten billion dollars. Some 22,000 war planes are prepared for bombing while over 12,000 tanks and 1000 fighting ships are awaiting the signal for the next world carnage.

The next war is already being waged and it is a struggle to the death between democracy and fascism. Can we in America avoid participation for long? Certainly not unless we face fearlessly the social problems of youth and the economic order.

Confronting us are several major choices: dictatorship versus democracy, individualism versus collectivism, an economy of scarcity over against an economy of abundance, millions of unemployed or work for all, a materialistically centered society or one that is socially centered.

Now if we are to solve these problems, if exploitation is to yield to justice, a major responsibility rests on the teachers of the nation. *The schools must be democratically organized and controlled. Dictatorship on the part of superintendents and principals must yield to democracy.*

This is why the organizing campaign of the American Federation of Teachers is so necessary and vital to American welfare. Organization of teachers means organized schools, which means that education runs first, last and all the time in the interests of the child life of the nation.

There probably never was a time in the history of the Federation when we had a more spectacular opportunity to go forward. Teachers all over the country are clamoring for help. The groundswell from the millions of workers who have joined the ranks of the CIO and the A. F. of L. has somehow seemed to awaken the teachers who have been quiescent for decades. How heartening it is to have all the Chicago teachers unite into one great powerful union!

No wonder that your convention voted so enthusiastically for an assessment for organizational purposes. But the dynamic enthusiasm of the convention will be of little avail unless it is transmitted to the rank and file. By the time you are reading these words every local in the American

Federation of Teachers should have collected and sent to the National Office this special assessment. The American Federation of Teachers is paying less per capita than probably any other organized labor union in the United States, in face of the fact that while we have a million potential members, we only have 25,000 organized.

In a brilliant article in the October *Harper's* Donald Slesinger discusses academic freedom. He points out that it is not capitalism nor entrenched greed which has directly taken away our liberties. We teachers have voluntarily and complacently given up our own rights and have been proud in our professional superiority and isolation while we did so. As he points out, the only answer to intolerance, injustice and the denial of freedom is fearless organization of the teachers.

The next world war is already in progress in Spain. No one knows how soon the general cataclysm will burst with appalling consequences on the rest of Europe. The probabilities are that America has no more than five years to go before we ourselves become involved. To some extent we are engaged in the preliminary skirmishes in selling scrap iron to Japan and taking part in the Nine Power Conference.

All of this means that, as teachers, we must make sacrifices in order to forward organization here and now. We must take our part in the fight for new legislation, for tenure, for state and Federal aid, for sabbatical leave, and for the host of other educational conditions which are indispensable for freedom.

We have over 25,000 members now. We should have double that number by the time our next convention meets. Shall we? Not at all if we are as complacent as we have been in the past.

Your Executive Council is employing more paid organizers than the American Federation of Teachers has ever had. What will you do to make this campaign effective? If war ever comes the American people will be compelled to contribute billions of dollars and millions of lives. Every dollar of time or effort put into the organization of teachers now is worth a thousand when America is actually involved in international conflict. Are we intelligent enough, patriotic enough and sacrificing enough really to build our organization *now* and protect our heritage of freedom while we still have a fighting chance?

If we fail now, when war does come our union will be crushed, smashed by the organized power of fascist reaction, even though it may masquerade under some such banner as a "liberty league".

JEROME DAVIS

The AFT Makes the Headlines

. . . and Wins a Victory in San Antonio

WITH THE CHAMBER OF COMMERCE, the Manufacturers' Association, the Superintendent of Schools and the President of the School Board of San Antonio lined up against the right of teachers to join unions, Mr. Irwin R. Kuenzli and Congressman Maury Maverick addressed 800 of the city's 1300 teachers in the interests of unionism. It is

significant to note that there was a mass lay-off of teachers last year; that this year twenty-nine rehired teachers have been employed at a salary of \$600 per year; and that the budget for teachers' salaries has been cut.

The following excerpts from local newspapers tell a clear story.

S. A. Evening News, Wed., Oct. 27.

TEACHERS DECIDE TO VOTE ON UNION ORGANIZATION

Seven hundred San Antonio public school teachers lustily applauded Congressman Maury Maverick and Irvin Kuenzli, organizer for the American Federation of Teachers, when they lambasted school officials Tuesday afternoon.

The meeting was called so that Kuenzli might present to local teachers the program and benefits to be derived from a teachers' union. Both he and Maverick criticized the stand taken by school officials, the Chamber of Commerce and the Manufacturers' Association on the matter of organization of teachers.

Supt. J. C. Cochran's recent statement that any teacher who joined the union would be dismissed was termed by Maverick a violation of the Constitution of the

United States. . . .

Kuenzli was both bitter and sarcastic in his criticism of the resolutions and statements condemning a teachers' union for San Antonio. The resolutions were based largely upon ignorance, he said. One referred to the danger of teachers being induced by the union to teach "isms." "I wonder if they have ever heard of altruism?" Kuenzli

asked. "Perhaps they are afraid that the teachers will teach genuine Americanism."

Kuenzli read from records of the organization because, he said, he was delighted that the presence of the stenographer would give him an opportunity to get facts on the record. He traced the teachers' union's growth from its founding in 1916.

Kuenzli closed his address with a review of the Federation's accomplishments and a statement that the Chamber of Commerce has a right to its viewpoint, but both it and Supt. Cochran had committed a "grievous fault" in dictating to teachers what organization they might join.

S. A. Evening News, Wed., Oct. 27.

250 MORE TEACHERS TO GET AX, MAVERICK HEARS, HE TELLS LIONS

The San Antonio board of education is now planning to dismiss 250 more teachers, Congressman Maury Maverick said he understood today in a speech before the Lions Club.

A storm of protest arose last spring when the board failed to re-elect 100 regular teachers, placing them on probationary status until shortly before school opened when all but 43 were reinstated.

Maverick said he was not informed as to the cause of the reported dismissal plan, and it was unknown whether it had any direct connection with the threat of teachers to join a union.

The congressman severely scored the threat that any teacher who joined a union would be dismissed.

Maverick said he understood the board was secretly planning the wholesale dismissal of teachers, and keeping the public and the teachers in the dark about the plan.

efficient service—union or no union.

"I believe that Superintendent Cochran's statement prohibiting teachers from organizing was ill advised."

A member of the board, who refused to be quoted, expressed the belief that Cochran would be unable to muster sufficient votes in the school board to discharge a teacher for union affiliation.

S. A. Light, Thurs., Oct. 28.

SCHOOL BOARD SPLIT OVER UNIONS

At least two members of the Board of Education definitely were at odds Thursday with Superintendent of Schools J. C. Cochran relative to teachers joining a union.

Koger Stokes declared Thursday that Cochran had made a "grave mistake in pronouncing himself so definitely against teachers' unions." He added that he believed teachers are entitled to handle their own affairs as long as such activities as they may carry on do not interfere with the efficient operation of the schools.

Dr. Hollers took an even more definite stand, assuring teachers that they need never fear for the positions as far as he was concerned.

A member of the board, who refused to be quoted, expressed the belief that Cochran would be unable to muster sufficient votes in the school board to discharge a teacher for union affiliation.

"No teachers need be afraid that I as a member of the school board will vote to fire them as long as they are rendering

S. A. Evening News, Thurs., Oct. 28.

Youngblood Denies 250 More Tutors to be Discharged

"Maverick's reported statement at the Lions Club on Wednesday to the effect that the Board of Education is contemplating the dismissal of two hundred and fifty school teachers is not true, is absurd and ridiculous," Hull Youngblood, president of the board, charged today.

Maverick reiterated today that he was convinced from the information he received that the School Board had been considering the discharge of 250 teachers.

"If my statement has forestalled such action," he said, "I am glad I have been able to do some good. The official denial protects the teachers involved and I am glad of that."

"The fact remains that the school system is in a demoralized condition, that teachers are jittery and scared, and that they do not receive equal treatment with teachers in other places," Maverick concluded.

SCHOOL BOARD MAJORITY APPROVES TEACHERS' UNION

San Antonio school teachers Thursday night won the right to join the American Federation of Teachers without fear of being discharged, despite warnings issued by J. Chester Cochran, superintendent of schools, when it was revealed that a majority on the San Antonio Board of Education, four members, will refuse to authorize the dismissal of any teacher for union activities if the case is brought before the board.

Strongest statement issued was that of Dr. James P. Hollers. "I will not vote to discharge a teacher for joining or failing to join any religious, social, or other groups. I am sure that the teachers have the ability to decide what's best for them.

"I do not think any board member or employe of the board has the right to encourage or discourage any teacher or other

employe in the exercise of any right."

He expressed the belief that "any organization is entitled to settle its own problems. I don't think the board should have anything to say unless it affects the efficiency of teachers."

In a surprise move last week, Cochran made the announcement he would recommend to the board that all teachers who joined a labor organization be fired. The authority to recommend the dismissal of all teachers rests with Cochran.

Koger Stokes scored the intimidation of teachers. "If the teachers so desire, they should be entitled to join a union."

The statement aroused the ire of teachers, who immediately called a meeting of the Teachers' Council to hear a labor organizer list the advantages of membership in the American Federation of Teachers.

TEACHER UNION ATTITUDE TO BE SOUGHT AT MEET

Procedure for determining the true attitude of San Antonio teachers in regard to joining the American Federation of Teachers will be discussed by the executive board of the teachers council in a meeting next Tuesday, Charles S. Ware, president, announced Friday.

Mrs. E. R. Lewis Friday had joined three other members of the school board in agreeing that school teachers should be permitted to organize if they so desire. The four constitute a majority of the board.

R. L. Hogan, Koger Stokes, and Dr. James Hollers Thursday took a definite stand against Superintendent J. C. Cochran, who recently announced that teachers joining a union would be discharged.

Repercussions

On November 5, Mr. Kuenzli sent a letter to the teachers of San Antonio, parts of which we quote:

Our attention has been called to the fact that a paper known as The Texas Commentator is being widely distributed among teachers of San Antonio in an attempt to prevent organization of the teachers by means of the "Red Scare".

The Commentator states "Red agitators are attempting to undermine the principles of one of San Antonio's finest body of men and women—the teachers in our public schools." Why did they not add "whom, as college trained experts, we pay the splendid average wage of approximately \$29.00 per week and whom we dismiss in large numbers without warning and without reason?"

Why have the Chamber of Commerce and Manufacturers Association suddenly become so interested in the welfare of the schools and the teachers? When hundreds of schools were closed, three millions of American children deprived of any schooling, teachers' salaries slashed and terms shortened—Where were the Chamber of Commerce and Manufacturers Association then? Who shouted "isms" then? What kind of "ism" is it when representatives of Chambers of Commerce appear before committees of legislatures to defeat school support bills regardless of the effect on the educa-

tion of the children and the welfare of the teachers?

THE TRUTH is that the American Federation of Teachers has no political connections whatever and receives no support whatever except from the small dues of its members which average \$2.00 per year. No record is kept of political or religious affiliations of members. It is probable that the large majority are Democrats as are the majority of the citizens of Texas.

The teachers of San Antonio undoubtedly will accept this concerted attempt to prevent their organization as the most persuasive argument that they need organization badly. The ultimate result will be better schools for San Antonio, a better and more prosperous city, happier and more efficient teachers—to the end that even the Chamber of Commerce and Manufacturers Association will reap large profits.

The labor movement, in spite of bitter opposition, has been a constructive force in American society and is largely responsible for care of widows and orphans, old age security, care of crippled children, and higher standards of living in general. In like manner the American Federation of Teachers is a constructive force in the schools and community life of many American cities, assisting to protect the schools from strongly organized groups which represent only a small minority of the citizens.



Mexico Reports

By JOAQUIN ESPINOSA PRIETO

IN THE MONTH of February of this year at a convention of several teachers unions and organizations, there originated the Mexican Federation of Teachers (Federación Mexicana de Trabajadores de la Enseñanza). More than 70,000 teachers are affiliated to the F.M.T.E. They constitute ninety-five per cent of the organized teachers in the country, and ninety per cent of all our teachers.

Our organization is intimately related to the labor movement; we have cooperative agreements with such unions as those of the railroad men, miners, artists, and electricians. Through our program we have demonstrated that we place confidence in the workers of Mexico, by whose side we must struggle, on an equal basis, in order to attain our social, economic and cultural aims. We acknowledge that we form part of the working class and that we must play our part in all its social movements.

Moreover, we have accepted the example of other workers and have used their methods when defending the interests of Mexico's educational workers. These methods include strikes, suspensions of work, demonstrations and meetings. The valuable teachings of other workers have enabled us to win our most important rights. As a consequence we have been able to gather round our organization the immense majority of Mexican teachers, who have found their interests perfectly guaranteed and defended.

We are affiliated with the most important cultural organizations of Mexico, and with juvenile, and student organizations. We have a cooperative agreement with the Confederación Campesina Mexicana, whose membership of one million peasants renders it the most powerful farm group in the country.

We have taken part in local and national struggles of workers against the increase in cost of living, for a minimum salary, and for payment of wages for the seventh day of the week. We have struggled side by side with the peasants for agrarian reform, for rural credit, for the formation of Agrarian Defense. This has obtained for us the sympathy both of the laborers and the peasants, who decidedly support us in our own battles, and who constitute one of the most important factors in bringing about our victories.

Reading, Writing and Organization Below the Rio Grande. The second article in a series on education in foreign countries.

The trade union movement of teachers has been continuously increasing in Mexico, and it has included tens of thousands of teachers in its strikes, demonstrations, and meetings. In the Capital of the Republic we have organized demonstrations involving twenty thousand teachers coming from all parts of the country. Last year we held two national strikes and 103 local ones. Most of these actions were directed against reactionary state governments which refused to follow the progressive policies of President Cardenas. These state governments were paying their teachers miserable salaries, were not even meeting their paydays, and were making arbitrary collective dismissals.



In its battles the F.M.T.E. has been spurred on by the grave danger to democracy everywhere resulting from the attacks of Fascism internationally. The F.M.T.E. has given its full support to the struggle of the Spanish people to preserve the liberties brought by the Republic and threatened by Fascist invasion. Everywhere we educate for peace and democracy and against Fascism.

Facing the progressive reforms initiated by General Cardenas, the F.M.T.E. has made patent its support and solidarity with this tendency, maintaining, nevertheless, in the strictest sense, its political and trade union independence, that it may contribute in full measure to the demands made by a changing society. The F.M.T.E. acknowledges that it owes a great part of its progress and its achievements to the progressive attitude of President Cardenas and particularly to the Secretariat of Education, with whom it keeps relations of cooperation, to such a degree that it is cooperating with that organ in a plan for the elevation of the cultural and technical level of education in Mexico; and for the improvement of professional standards and school methods. The mentioned plan consists of five points:

1. The campaign against illiteracy.
2. The increase of enrolment in schools.
3. Professional improvement.
4. The hygienization of the schools' environment.
5. The organization of women, youths and children.

In appraising this plan, the reader must remember that because of its condition as a semi-colony of American imperialism, Mexico's economy is retarded. When the Spaniards conquered the country, there existed already an educational system which satisfied the needs of a privileged minority, but the great masses of natives did not receive any other education than the one established by religious tradition.

During all the colonial period, and even much after the War of Independence and the establishment of the Republic, this situation continued, the privileged minority consisting of the group of Spanish conquerors and their descendants, the creoles.

Because of this condition, at the outbreak of the Revolution in 1910, the demand for a popular and democratic education constituted one of the greatest national aspirations. (It is enough to say, as interesting data, that the number of illiterates ran as high as eighty-nine per cent.)

The most important expression of recent educational reform is the present rural school. It has been from the beginning a cultural agency, not only for the child, but for the whole community. The rural teacher in Mexico is a social leader, who takes care of the construction of the school building, fosters physical culture through sports, cares for the improvement of agricultural technique, struggles for the construction of new roads and highways, estab-

lishes offices and collaborates efficiently and actively in the revolutionary organization of the different popular sectors.

Besides the rural schools, there exist boarding schools for Indians, the mission of which is to care for the education of the groups of aborigines who had been kept out of all contact with civilization. There are thirty-four regional schools for peasants to take care of the education of 5,000 pupils, who will become practical farmers or rural teachers. Cooperating with these schools are twenty cultural missions composed of teachers specializing in such different subjects



as physical culture, education, art, and music. These cultural missions periodically devote intensive attention to each of the different school zones. In each they organize institutes of improvement for the teachers and promote the intensive development of social activities in the communities they visit. Lately, the government has ordered that these missions devote their attention to the most retarded indigenous regions.

In the city zones many elementary and secondary schools have been created, . . . some by the Federal Government and others by the governments of the states. But what best characterizes the educational effort in the city zones is the creation of many technical schools which tend to satisfy the needs of a national industry which has begun to grow in a vigorous form. This system of technical schools, which includes the pre-vocational establishments, culminates with the Polytechnical School (something like a central high school), operating in Mexico City. The primary and secondary night schools for workers are also very important. These are supplemented by some night schools specializing in the improvement of the worker's capacity.

This is, in few words, the effort of Mexico in education, aside from higher education imparted by local universities and the National Autonomous University. To make culture reach the lowest strata of society is the greatest wish of the revolutionary Mexico of today and of the Mexican Federation of Teachers. True emulation has been aroused among the teachers of all the country who have formed brigades for the successful carrying out of this purpose.

Democracy in Union Life

By WILLIAM W. WATTENBERG

Internal democracy is necessary basis for members' activity and external effectiveness.

IF YOU WANT TO FIND OUT whether a given group is democratic, ask one question: "Who really runs the organization?" If one person, or a small executive board, exercises more power than all the rest of the members, then you are confronted with an autocracy or a bureaucracy. If the organization truly is governed by its membership, you have democracy.

Simple as democracy may be in conception, in practice it may be extremely hard to attain. One need not look far to find educational associations which started as democratically ruled groups and which have become the tools of a few self-interested supervisors. Many of the state teachers' organizations, although they claim to represent the will of all teachers, nevertheless are actually governed by the wishes of a small clique,—a fact which is well known to anyone who has had considerable contact with these groups. Moreover, their very constitutions function as if designed to entrench the small ruling clique and to prevent the general membership from securing effective control.

II

Before dealing with the question of how to make our locals as democratic as possible, it may be worth while to indicate briefly why democracy in organization is essential. An autocratically governed group, no matter how pure may have been the intent of its original rulers, is almost certain either to die or to end its career as a company union or as an instrument of racketeers.

Several years ago I made a study of some two hundred teachers' associations. At that time I encountered a type of group best described as a "paper organization". In every such case, the group had once been powerful, had once fought the battle of teachers and fought them rather well. In every case, the group had been run by one person or a small "inside" clique. In every case, criticism had been stifled and members found it impossible to change the policy of "their" group. In every case, the members became disgusted and abandoned the group for others which represented policies they favored. In every case the paper organization's present membership consists solely of the original leader or the small circle of "insiders". The lesson would appear to be that if a group is so governed that the voices of its membership are ignored, the members will drift to another group, one more to their liking. Autocracy is synonymous with death.

The strength of the American Federation of Teachers at the present time is that its locals, by and large, are more democratic than any other educational groups. Teachers see that many state teachers' associations and old-line local groups are little more than company unions used by a small group of insiders to secure personal aggrandizement. Many such groups confess the truth of this charge when they find it necessary to force teachers to join their ranks. Pressure from administrators and clauses in contracts are used to swell the number of members. Outraged by this state of affairs, teachers are turning to our locals.

We may take just pride in this trend. But, let it also serve us as a warning. We must begin to study democracy and the ways of achieving it, lest we unintentionally stray into the paths of autocracy. Should we ever permit that to occur we shall die, or—even worse—be used as the very instruments that destroy the democracy in education for which we now battle.

III

How, then, can we make sure that power continues to reside in the hands of all members of our locals? Probably there is no single sure answer to that query. We must experiment with many devices and procedures to find those which best further our purpose. At present, it is possible to describe a few of the characteristics which seem to make for true democracy in our locals.

First, the most democratic of our locals do not hesitate to trust their own members, to let them make all important decisions of policy. In the case of small locals, there are frequent meetings of the entire membership to transact all business. All decisions are made by these general membership meetings. The executive committee reports to the general membership—for either approval or rejection—all actions it may have had to take in the interim between meetings.

Some locals have grown so large that general membership meetings are unwieldy. Power to legislate has been transferred to a representative body whose members are elected by the general membership and who are urged to report their actions to the groups they represent. To make sure that the general membership retains control, provision is made for general membership meetings at which important issues are discussed and voted upon. In addition, initiative

and referendum on important matters should be part of the local's legislative procedure.

The frequency of meetings appears to be a matter of great importance. A local association that holds meetings once a year cannot be democratic. The membership loses touch with what happens, and the officers find themselves free to do almost anything they choose. To forestall such a development, our locals usually meet once or twice a month. In the case of the large locals, in which frequent meetings of a representative body determine policy, general membership meetings are held nevertheless. When such meetings are held less frequently than once every two or three months, members are apt to get out of touch with the affairs of their group. Worse, officers lose touch with the sentiment of the members; and the drift towards autocracy may begin.

An important device for maintaining democracy is the dissemination among members of news concerning their local. Thus, those unable to attend meetings receive news of every important move that has been made or is pending.

The usual procedure is that of publishing a news bulletin or a magazine. The principal function of this publication is to present to teachers the policies, program, and viewpoint of the local and of the American Federation of Teachers, as democratically determined by the membership. A department for correspondents should be included in order that varying points of view may receive a hearing.

Even more important for the purpose of maintaining democracy is the use made of committees. A well-organized local should have committees for every important function and for every important field of endeavor. Ideally, every member should be on at least one committee. By spreading the work, the local makes sure that as many as possible of its members have vital contact with what the local is doing. The members become familiar with the officers and they learn what their organization is trying to accomplish and what methods it is employing. To use the term current in pedagogical literature, the local sets up an "activity program" for the education of its membership.

This "activity program" furnishes a key to that most vexing of problems: What is the role of the executive committee? Because executive committeemen in the course of their work acquire many important facts and much "inside dope" they feel that they know more than the ordinary teacher. They fear that if decisions are made by persons

with less background of information, mistakes will be made. True though that may be, the moment an executive committee acts upon the assumption that it knows better what is good for a local than does the general membership, at that moment is taken the first and longest step towards paternalism, toward autocracy.

When an executive committee declares to itself that it cannot trust the general membership to make wise decisions, then the executive committee is confessing failure. For, one of its most important tasks is so to exercise its powers that the general membership is and wants to be well-informed. One of the most important devices for maintaining equality of knowledge between general membership and executive committee is that of seeing that a large proportion of the members is actively working on the problems confronting the local. In short, herein lies the importance of the "activity program" mentioned before.

What is the duty of the executive committee? Perhaps most important is its function as a policy-making body which acts for the local between membership meetings. Here, it is essential that all its actions be subject to review by the membership. In addition, the executives have two important jobs. The first is that of carrying out policies fixed by the membership. The second is that of caring for details and arranging programs so that the membership is made free to devote its time to deciding the important questions before the local.

The constitutions of most locals are simple and flexible. The amending process is usually easy to operate. Two dangers in an amending process are that if it is too easy, in a time of internal stress one faction may "pack" a meeting and push through constitutional changes which may hamstring the local; the second danger is that if the amending process is too difficult a small entrenched minority may thwart the will of a majority. To avoid these two possibilities, most locals require advance notice to all members before an amendment is acted upon and then allow a simple majority vote to pass the amendment.

This article has described some of the methods used by our locals to further the functioning of democracy. That so large a number are truly striving to practice democracy is a good sign of the earnestness of our purpose. If we are vigilant to see that we preserve our internal democracy, then we will grow mightily in numbers and power. We will guarantee freedom and happiness for the schools and the teachers and the children of America.



The Ethics of Big Business

By GEORGE E. AXTELLE

High finance's new low—an eighty million dollar annual investment in labor spies.

MANY PEOPLE have felt there is little distinction between the ethics of modern business enterprise and that of Al Capone, Dutch Schultz and their ilk. This position now has well-documented support in the evidence so reluctantly given before the La Follette committee. Nor need we feel that racketeer ethics in business is but a sporadic manifestation, a sort of fungus growth upon an otherwise healthy organism. On the contrary, we now have ample evidence that such manifestations, far from being sporadic, are rather the normal, even essential practice of modern business.

Most Americans resent the ideas of class consciousness and class war which, they feel, are so utterly foreign to the essential spirit of the American tradition. But whether we designate the situation as class warfare or no, there can be no question about an unrelenting, relentless, ever-present labor war, a merciless warfare upon the workers by their employers, a warfare as cruel, as brutal, as uncompromising as any Al ever waged. Moreover, employers wishing to treat with their workers on a humane basis are coerced by employer organizations, which, through their membership, can bring irresistible economic as well as personal and social pressures to bear. However much the employers may resent the organization of their workers, they themselves are organized to the limit. No employer of labor fails to belong to every organization that will be of service to him in coercing and intimidating his workers. These organizations in turn coerce their membership to maintain as solid a front against their enemy—by their own designation—labor, as labor ever dreamed of.

The above remarks are not made idly, nor are they a matter of theory. They are the mildest conclusions one can arrive at, if we are to believe the reluctant testimony of the representatives of business enterprise themselves. Leo Huberman, in his *The Labor Spy Racket*, has performed an invaluable service to American Democracy in making the evidence presented before the La Follette committee available to the American people. In order that this vitally important material not be buried in archives on shelves and lost to us, he has combed it and produced a short and exciting book, devastating in its revelations, nauseating in the picture it presents of the accepted practices of the "pillars" of American civilization.

Not only do we owe Mr. Huberman a great debt, we likewise are indebted to his publishers, Modern Age Books. They have published the book in very attractive paper covers for thirty-five cents. Many books are published which should be widely read, but the price makes them

prohibitive for the people who most need to read them. Here we have material which is available in a real sense to everyone.

Mr. Huberman confines himself to the story of the labor spy. That is enough. In slightly less than two hundred pages he reveals a practice which in its various aspects is the very depth of moral degradation, inhumanity, brutality and deception. An economic system which must be founded upon such practices has reached moral bankruptcy. It has no further to go. Yet in their private conversations among themselves or when off guard, our industrial giants insist that there is no other way of handling labor.

Democratic tradition abhors the practices of secret police and terrorism employed by totalitarian states. Yet for decades business enterprise in America has employed much the same tactics as an accepted, normal and essential phase of their labor policy. At a conservative estimate they spend \$80,000,000 a year on spies alone. This does not count their expenditure for munitions, gas and armed thugs which itself runs into a staggering total.

The varieties of techniques whereby this \$80,000,000 worth of service is delivered are legion. The following letters reveal the sort of service sold.

Your letter of July 28 is received. With reference to your inquiry about my experience and what I am prepared to do in case of disturbance, etc.

First, I will say that if we are employed before any union or organization is formed by the employees, there will be no strike and no disturbance. This does not say there will be no unions formed, but it does say that we will control the activities of the union and direct its policies, provided we are allowed a free hand by our clients.

Second. If a union is already formed and no strike is on or expected to be declared within 30 or 60 days, although we are not in the same position as we would be in the above case, we could—and I believe with success—carry on an intrigue which would result in factions, disagreements, resignations of officers, and general decrease in the membership.

Again:

You have doubtless learned from the reports that our No. 20 is likely to be elected Recording Secretary of the local in Wichita, and for fear that you may not understand this in the right light, we wish to advise you that all of our operatives are instructed to accept the office of Recording Secretary if possible; as the Recording Secretary has nothing to do with agitation, simply keeping the records which are valuable to us, and from which we obtain all our information. You will understand that if No. 20 is elected to this office he will be in a position to give the name and record of every man who belongs to the union, and as to whether or not he pays his dues, and attends the meetings regular, and all the inside information that we desire.

But these racketeers are engaged in a business of their own. When serving the employer's interest fails to serve

their own they do not hesitate to doublecross him to make themselves necessary to him.

According to Senator Wheeler these operatives would induce the workers to commit various forms of sabotage to frighten the employers. Then they would expose the workers whom they themselves had instigated. Moreover, when they cannot stir up trouble they fake it, making their reports spicy, keeping the employer jittery.

The Agency sends one of its spies into a plant through the back door to stir up trouble; then it sends one of its smooth salesmen through the front door to sell its services in putting down the very trouble that it itself brewed! And a duped frightened plant management usually falls for it.

They make a practice of following union papers and union movements, rushing to any threatened employer with their service. So, too, the munitions manufacturers drum up trade. Let us quote again:

I am doing a lot of missionary work in anticipation of a strike this spring, and I'm in a position to send in some good orders, if it will only mature. *Wish a hell of a strike would get under way.*

Two months later this salesman, writing his boss about a meeting of union officials in which they voted a strike says:

This looks like some business, and if this strike matures it would be a bad one. Hope you have something definite as to the new long range guns . . . *I hope this strike develops and matures and that it will be a damn bad one. We need the money.* Everyone wants to be on their toes watching this situation and work fast.

In order to get on the inside of a developing labor movement the delicate art of *Hooking* is employed. This consists in trapping a worker through getting him to furnish certain innocent appearing information, then blackmailing him to perform regular spy duty. The agencies are very careful in selecting their candidates for this work. They investigate the prospect thoroughly in order to assure themselves of a high moral and intellectual calibre. They want no bunglers. Moreover they want men whose status and record with their fellows are above reproach. Again let us look at the record to see how this is done.

Senator La Follette: Now tell the committee, Mr. Gray, just how you approach these men. For instance, suppose there is a labor dispute going on and the Railway Audit & Inspection Co. is assigned to the job by a client. Now just how would you go about it?



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Suppose you found the type of man you thought was all right; just what kind of sales talk would you give him to get him to be your contact man?

Mr. Gray: Well, perhaps I would approach him as an insurance inspector.

Senator La Follette: You never revealed your connection, did you, at the outset?

Mr. Gray: Oh, no.

Senator La Follette: As connected with the Railway Audit & Inspection Co.?

Mr. Gray: No sir; no sir.

They are very careful not to let the men know for whom they are working. They pose as representing an insurance company, a minority group of stockholders wishing to improve the conditions of the workers, or they may even pose as representing the government. Once the men are hooked they are then blackmailed to continue their work, fearing the reaction of their fellows if their activities are known.

Now notice the role of an employer association, the National Metal Trades Association, which combines spying, strike breaking, union smashing and any other functions contributing to the continued exploitation of labor. On January 15, 1937, the N.M.T.A. had a membership of 952 plants.

Senator Thomas: So you have an organization which has all the possibilities of collective action on the part of the employers?

Mr. Sayre: Yes; I presume that is correct, in the preservation of the open shop.

Senator Thomas: So you have certain machinery set up that you can bring unity of stand, unity of action, unity of opinion about certain definite things?

Mr. Sayre: Yes; for the principle of the open shop that we stand for.

Note what happened when the workers in the Morse Twist Drill and Machine Company of New Bedford, Mass., held an election under the auspices of the NLRB on April 25, 1934. Of 284 workers, 272 voted affiliating with the union. But this did not embarrass the N.M.T.A. An agreement can't be signed with a union that doesn't exist. Their job was simple. Their Mr. Lichtenberger went into the plant, joined the union, was soon able to demoralize the men by discrediting the organizers and by other disruptive activities in the union. The union was killed.

This same employers' association on other occasions framed the officials of a growing union by destroying their homes, sending anonymous letters, writing to the wives that their husbands were familiar with other women, writing letters to the men signed with the names of other women, knowing that the wives took care of the mail.

The last resort and probably the most effective attack upon the labor movement is to organize citizens' committees, Law and Order Leagues, and other vigilante organizations. The object is two-fold. First, to make it appear that the mass of law-abiding citizens are spontaneously aroused by unjustified and illegal activity of outside trouble-makers. In

this way the employers hope to discredit the organization of the workers. The second object is to get their strike-breaking done free of charge by the local community. The role of the spies in all this is carefully concealed, yet they assume the responsibility of organizing the movement under the direction and pay of the employers.

These are but a few samples of the evidence uncovered by the La Follette committee. Leo Huberman has collected some of the choice nuggets in this little book which held me as fascinated as a dime novel did in my boyhood.

Union Teachers! You *must* get this book. Read it; pass it on to your neighbors. Or better still, order ten copies for the price you would pay for a full length novel and distribute it among your friends and encourage them to do likewise. This material must be spread throughout the working and professional classes. It is obvious that the conflict has only begun. From the evidence in this little book there is nothing at which the employers will stop to destroy those whom they designate as "the enemy". Time is of the essence of this situation. Do not delay and do not forget.

A BID FOR UNITY

Jerome Davis Writes to William Green

[To supply the background against which this exchange of letters may be better understood, the Editors reprint herewith several excerpts from President Davis' report upon actions taken by the A. F. of L. convention:

The A. F. of L. Executive Council was given practically blanket power to do anything which they considered necessary to safeguard and promote the best interests of the Federation. By majority vote any convention was authorized to levy as high an assessment on the membership as it pleased. Since the Executive Council can now suspend any union at its pleasure this means that protesting unions can be suspended, which would guarantee the necessary majority vote.

The Convention also voted that for non-payment of assessments any union can be suspended after three months by the Executive Council. It should be remembered that this affects the American Federation of Teachers for at our last convention the majority of the membership voted against such payment. . . .

The Convention ended in an optimistic note, for the CIO had offered to confer. While the original proposal to meet with a hundred representatives was refused by the Executive Council of the A. F. of L., the CIO responded by agreeing to meet on any terms. . . .

It is my judgment, however, that it will be impossible for an agreement to be reached unless the A. F. of L. committee is willing to recognize the industrial unions which have been built by the CIO throughout the country. If these unions are recognized, and affiliate with the A. F. of L., it will mean a new day for American Labor. Seven million organized workers can march forward together with a dynamic power one hundred times stronger than is possible if they are split.

It would almost be a miracle if this happens but anything is possible to those with sincerity, courage, and sacrificial devotion to the welfare of the millions enrolled in labor's ranks.]

November 4, 1937.

Mr. William Green, President
American Federation of Labor
American Federation of Labor Building
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Green:

I want to write urging you to give serious consideration to the proposals made by the committee of ten of the Committee for Industrial Organization. It seems to me that it is suicidal for labor not to be re-united.

It is obvious that any form of unity must involve keeping intact all the workers who have joined on an industrial basis thus far.

If the proposals for unity could be consummated, the American labor movement would go forward to unprecedented heights in the next few years. It would have a friendly administration in Washington and nothing could stop its advance.

The rank and file of American labor will not be misled by appeals to technicalities if this unity is blocked.

You have an opportunity to do a strategic and generous act which will advance labor's cause for decades to come or you have the opportunity to block this advance.

I sincerely trust that through your influence labor may be once more united.

Fraternally yours,

JEROME DAVIS.

November 10, 1937.

Mr. Jerome Davis, President
American Federation of Teachers
506 South Wabash Avenue
Chicago, Illinois

Dear Sir and Brother:

In making reply to your letter dated November 4th, may I ask you what you have in mind in the suggestions you offer? Do you feel that the American Federation of Labor should surrender to the Committee for Industrial Organization, accept its proposal as you recommend which would

mean the full and complete surrender of the American Federation of Labor?

I feel I should frankly say to you that I always read with some feeling of reservation any recommendation which you make regarding the policies to be pursued by the American Federation of Labor. I have never known you to commend the American Federation for anything it has ever done, but instead I have found you to be a constant critic of the American Federation of Labor. For that reason, I must ask you to clarify your proposals made in your letter. What do you mean in the recommendations you make? What do you feel the American Federation of Labor should do?

Fraternally yours,

WILLIAM GREEN.

November 17, 1937.

Mr. William Green, President
American Federation of Labor
American Federation of Labor Building
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Green:

Thank you for your letter of November 10. I am not certain what you mean by "surrender" to the Committee for Industrial Organization. I do believe and I think the overwhelming majority of the working class of America feel that some agreement should be reached between the CIO and the A. F. of L. This agreement should permit the organization of industrial unions and the retention and extension of industrial unions already chartered by the CIO.

In your letter you say you have never known me to commend the American Federation of Labor for anything it has ever done. As a matter of fact this cannot be true because ever since I began to teach in 1920 I have supported the American Federation of Labor, even at great personal sacrifice to my own future. May I remind you that during my first year at Yale I helped the New Haven Trades Council to establish an educational forum? I assisted in educational classes for the workers and these workers represented unions belonging to the American Federation of Labor.

I say this not in any spirit of boastfulness but because I want you to know that I have sincerely tried to promote the interests of organized labor in the United States. I think my record for the last seventeen years speaks for itself.

It is true that I did not believe the American Federation of Labor should have suspended the great national trade unions prior to the A. F. of L. Convention in Tampa. It is true I believe that this action was illegal and unconstitutional because in the A. F. of L. Constitution it says that labor unions can only be expelled by a two-thirds vote of the Convention. Now, if an Executive Council can suspend unions in advance it in effect nullifies the rule of

the Constitution. All those who would oppose their rulings can be suspended and so deprived of exercising their vote. I therefore believe the action was illegal.

I am sure you will agree that I would have been a traitor to my conscience and the labor movement had I not voiced this on the floor of the Convention.

It is true that at the Convention at Denver I opposed the resolution to debar President Howard of the International Typographical Union from the floor. He was unanimously elected to represent his union and I do not think the Convention acted wisely in debarring him.

It is also true that I opposed the granting of unprecedented powers to the Executive Council by constitutional amendment, powers which President Gompers and the founders of the American Federation of Labor never saw fit to give the Executive Council.

You emphasized several times during the Convention that each delegate should speak honestly what he believed. I believe that my convictions are in line with eminent students of the American labor problem, such as John R. Commons, and that they have the support of millions of the American laboring classes. I feel certain that you want me to express these convictions.

Under these circumstances it hardly seems fair for you to say that because I have conscientiously stood for justice to the working class at several points with which you disagree you have never known me to commend the American Federation of Labor for anything it has done. The fact is that for the past twenty years, in nearly every address which I have made on labor, I have commended the A. F. of L. and the work it has done.

I am glad that the committees of the CIO and the A. F. of L. seem to be making progress. It does not seem to me that I am in a position to outline specifically and in detail the agreement which should be reached by these committees.

As president of the American Federation of Teachers I do want to say that all of our thousands of teachers throughout the country believe that it is imperative that some agreement should be reached which will make for the unity of the labor movement. We believe that there is an unparalleled opportunity confronting American labor if it moves forward united now. We see grave dangers ahead if labor is split. We believe that almost no sacrifice is too great for you to make to reach some agreement with the CIO and to promote the interests of all the working class of America.

Regardless of who is at fault, if an agreement is not reached the rank and file of American labor are going ahead to demand unity. I feel confident that if you and members of the Executive Council desire peace and unity in the labor movement it can be reached. We are counting, both on you and the CIO leaders, to make whatever sacrifices are necessary to achieve this unity.

Fraternally yours,

JEROME DAVIS.

CALLING COLLEGE TEACHERS

THE COLLEGE SECTION of the American Federation of Teachers held a very significant meeting at the last annual AFT convention at Madison. The significance of the meeting lay much more in the mood of the meeting than in any specific action taken. It had aggressiveness and determination, as well as a realization of the role of college teachers in the contemporary scene which assures an effective dynamic participation of college men and women in the present critical situation.

It was decided that we must bend every effort to secure the membership in the American Federation of Teachers of every college teacher in America who is informed and interested in orderly reconstruction of our society and the preservation of our profession against the Fascist attacks of reactionary forces. *This must be done during the current year.* It was further decided that the membership of the American Federation of Teachers should extend its leadership among intellectuals generally by the continual discussion of the role of intellectuals in our changing precarious world. This discussion could take place through many avenues. One medium for discussion of this issue is for members of the College Section to see that at each meeting of the learned societies there is some time given for the discussion of the problems of the American Federation of Teachers, the role of college teachers in a period of crisis, or the relation of college teachers to the labor movement generally. This could take place either through a special luncheon or through a given speaker on the program or discussion section.

A second avenue would be for members of our College Section to attempt to make an analysis of the relationship between their particular field and the labor movement generally. This analysis should be prepared for publication in learned magazines in this field.

Members of our Section should prepare book reviews on the materials that are especially significant for journals, such as those in the field of religion, law, medicine, etc. Every attempt should be made to see that the intellectual workers in America become informed with respect to the relationship between their own special field and the larger social issues.

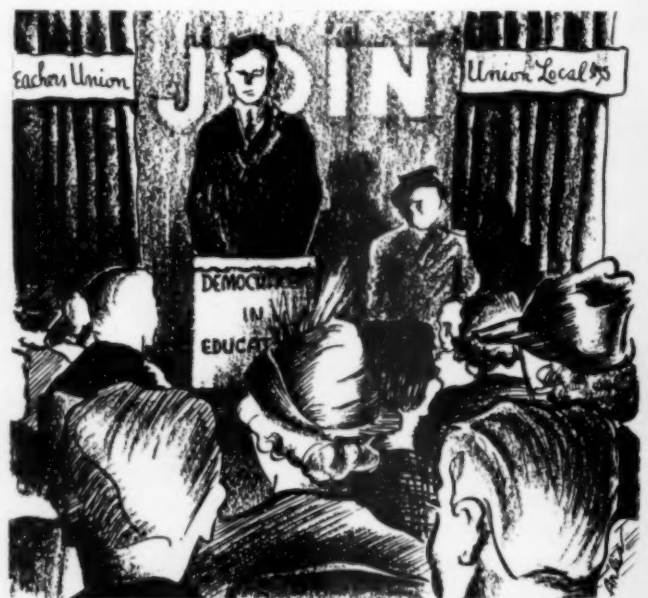
Further, they should become informed about the significance of our College Section in relation to the labor movement generally in order that they may see ways in which they may make themselves uniquely effective in relation to the general social scene. Without doubt, active membership in the College Section of the American Federation of Teachers gives numerous opportunities for exerting influence in the contemporary scene. The benefit

and contributions are mutual. I am sure that the active participation in the labor movement will contribute as much and more to the members of the College Section as membership in the College Section can contribute to the labor movement itself.

The College Section is to prepare a News Letter, which will go out to all the members of the Section informing them of the activities of the various locals throughout the country. In this way we can be informed as to the most effective method of organization and participation, and at the same time be kept alert with respect to the peculiar threats that may be directed against critical free intelligence.

A page in THE AMERICAN TEACHER is to be devoted to the interests of the College Section. It was further decided that the College Section should prepare a rather comprehensive bulletin which might be published as a handbook, and might be entitled "The Relation of the College Teacher to the Labor Movement". It was hoped that such a pamphlet or bulletin may be the cooperative work of the entire Section, using the office of the Vice-President for the College Section as a clearing house. It was suggested that each local as a whole consider this handbook, or appoint a committee to study its possibilities, contents, and contributors, and report back to the local for further discussion. It is our wish to secure the fullest possible participation in the development of this material.

Another function of our College Section is to develop an organizational program. In doing this we wish again the fullest possible participation of the membership. What



type of meeting is most successful? How can we most effectively transact the business of the local? How most effectively engage the fullest participation in practical action which will best further the interests of the local, the College Section, the AFT, and the labor movement generally? What objections do you most frequently meet? How can they best be overcome? What arguments are most effective? How get entry to establish new locals? How can the College Section be of most aid to new locals, to all locals? What type of service can we best perform? What errors avoid? What sort of material should go into our news letter? How best use THE AMERICAN TEACHER? What activities can locals or individuals engage in most effectively?

These are but a few of the questions we wish your locals would give thought to, and communicate to the college section Vice President the results of your deliberations.

If members of any local know of good leads for organization purposes—schools or colleges not now organized—will these members get in touch with the Vice President

of the College Section? Every letter will be appreciated. It is particularly important that we know who are interested and sufficiently aggressive to be effective in our program with respect to organization and education.

A further obligation was placed upon your Vice President. He was instructed to organize a committee on research which may serve not only the American Federation of Teachers, but the labor movement generally. It is not expected that this committee will confine itself to research. It is thought rather that this committee will be responsible for securing the most authoritative sources available in preparing materials on such items as tenure, salaries, academic freedom, class size, conditions of labor, taxation, etc.—in short, any problems with regard to which the executive council and any committees of the organization need authoritative material. When and as such calls come in, we will request names of people willing to serve on a committee working on the specific problem.

GEORGE E. AXTELLE,
Vice-President
in Charge of Colleges.

It's Happening Now

Things Slowing Up; Steel Dull

SEVERAL PHASES of the aftermath of the struggle of the CIO to organize "Little Steel" and the strikes last summer are interesting. In Youngstown no jury would convict Robert Burke and John Steuben, organizer and strike leader on the charges trumped up against them by the steel company's "legal department" in the town. In Gadsden, Ala., where the anti-union terror of Republic Steel has been reigning "time out of mind", indictments against six steel company thugs were handed down by a Grand Jury as a result of investigations of the National Labor Relations Board and the efforts of the labor unions themselves to expose the terrorism. Finally, with lay-offs and slackening of work in Johnstown, "right to work" is no longer a sacred phrase. In fact, no one mentions it—strangely it has passed out of circulation. The steel workers are asking themselves, however, the meaning of the Right to Work!

A Subject for the Novel

THE STATE DEPARTMENT of Education of Mexico has recently announced a prize competition for novels dealing with life among the rural school teachers of Mexico. The prize is \$1500 (Mexican currency) and among the judges are the well-known Mexican writers Martin Luis Guzman, Rafael F. Munoz and Arqueles Vela. Though the hardships of our

rural teachers may not compare with the ordeals of our Mexican brothers and sisters—fanatics in our rural communities are not usually armed against teachers—our inattention to the rural school teacher and his life contrasts sharply with the Mexican interest in the men and women who are vital in Mexico's reborn educational system.

Michigan Farmers Oppose Vigilantism

WILL THE VIGILANTE GANGS, organized by anti-union employers, get the support of the farmers? Not in Michigan! The convention of the Michigan Farmers Union at Detroit in October branded the vigilante movement as lawless and designed to take from the people by violence "those rights guaranteed by the Constitution." The resolution also named Mayor Knaggs of Monroe, the man who organized everything in his town but the SPCA to break up picket lines last summer.

St. Louis Prepares for Nazi Convention

WITH CONSIDERABLE GUSTO, the Nazi Bund of America, Hitler's pet German-American organization for the propagation of Nazism to America, set about organizing a national convention for St. Louis on November 21. But the convention is not proving very popular with progressive people in St. Louis. To organize a counter-demonstration, representatives of more than seventy-five groups from

churches, clubs and labor have formed the St. Louis Council for American Democracy. The Council maintains that the purpose of the Nazi convention is to "expose our community to the influence of the highly developed technique of propaganda which is so successfully used by totalitarian states." The Council proposes to see that the swastika is not flown and that Hitler is not "Heiled" for the benefit of the people of St. Louis.

California Ahead of Florida Here

SIX MEMBERS OF THE KLAN, accused of the murder of Joseph Shoemaker in Tampa, Fla., in 1935, were acquitted in October. After a weak prosecution of the defendants by District Attorney Rex Farrior, conducted in an atmosphere of prejudice and anti-labor incitement, and a directed verdict for acquittal from the Judge, the men who were involved in the atrocious abduction and beating were freed to continue their vigilantism under the sponsorship of the Klan. About the same time a great victory for civil liberties was won in California when the Court of Appeals, after a three years' fight by the International Labor Defense, set free eight victims of the criminal syndicalism laws in 1934, arrested during a strike of agricultural and canning workers. Though justice was long delayed, no better proof of the victory labor won here can be given than a paragraph in an editorial from the *San Francisco News*:

"The entire case is an outstanding example of how the Criminal Syndicalism Act can be used to imprison persons whose offense consists in holding unpopular political and economic views or in combining the expression of these views with strike activities hateful to an influential element in the community."

NYA Note

A grave danger to the careers of many students at present in college lies in the fact that the NYA appropriation has been severely cut for this year. Thus far only \$20,000,000 has been allocated for NYA work although the initial appropriation in the relief budget called for \$75,000,000. The threat of the interruption of a college education already is hanging over many heads, and the American Youth Congress is now considering means of presenting the problem to Washington. In the New York area high school and college students have already drafted an appeal to the President.

Censorship Around the World

AFTER PRESIDENT VARGAS of Brazil had clamped down a new state of martial law, following the usual myths about plots against the government and Marxist agitation, one of the first fruits of his drive on subversive influences was a ban on Mark Twain's immortal "Adventures of Tom Sawyer." The American picture "The Road Back" was also considered harmful to "spiritual public well-being."

We wonder, then, if the banning of the Ernest Hemingway film about Loyalist Spain, "The Spanish Earth" by the British censor is also in the interests of public well-being of the spirit, or just another indication of the pro-Franco bias of the Tory Government. When we come to America, we find that the University of Pittsburgh put a censor over the student press after the printing of a column which pointed out, among other things, that Rubens and Titian were not appreciated by \$3 a day miners. Whose well-being was affected here, however, the faculty censors leave us in no doubt.

From Me to You

AFTER SANTANDER, a Roman triumph for Franco at Rome. After Gijon—"I send you my personal congratulations" Mussolini wires Franco. Franco wires in return—"I accept your message with deep emotion." And soon, we suppose, just for the sake of fair play, the Non-Intervention Committee will grant Mussolini—beg pardon, Franco—his "belligerent rights"!

The Physiology of Academic Freedom

DURING A REGIONAL CONFERENCE of the Association of American Colleges at Poughkeepsie in October, the vexing problems of tenure and academic freedom in colleges were discussed. It remained for Professor Sumner W. Slichter of Harvard to get down to the profound anatomical reason why college teachers, fired in academic freedom cases, most times stay fired. Stiff necks, says Professor Slichter—because the administrator just hates to back down once he has fired a man. But, according to the professor, if the ousted one "takes his case to the public in a big way", the result is a farce. Or perhaps, to be more profound, the result, to the administrator, is an increasing pain in the neck.

Slander-Monger

At the head of an anti-Jewish propaganda agency, Edward W. Hunter spreads rumors and libels which have cropped up wherever prejudice will nourish them in America—such as "the Jews are the power behind the throne . . . the invisible government in Washington." But Hunter also engages in industrial espionage. Solicits money for his campaigns among DAR and American Legion members. Receives anonymous contributions for his anti-Jewish propaganda of \$9,000 yearly.

Polish Teachers Against Fascism

RECENTLY, the elementary school teachers of Poland lined up solidly with other trade unions and the peasants against the repressive measures of a government which is trying to convert a semi-Fascist State into a hundred-percenter. After the removal of its leadership, the Union of Polish Teachers protested against a government-appointed leadership by calling a one-day general strike.

The Teachers Union in Action

Welcome to New Locals

- No. 528 Macoupin County, Illinois, Teachers Union.
- No. 529 Klickitat County, Washington, Teachers Union.
- No. 530 Taylor Springs, Illinois, Teachers Union.
- No. 531 Aitkin, Minnesota, Federation of Teachers.
- No. 532 Gilbert, Minnesota, Association of Teachers.
- No. 533 Chisholm, Minnesota, Federation of Teachers.
- No. 534 Federation of Federal Teachers,
WPA District No. 10, Pennsylvania.
- No. 535 Federation of Federal Teachers,
WPA District No. 8, Pennsylvania.
- No. 536 Jefferson Parish, Louisiana, Colored Teachers'
Institute.
- No. 537 New York City College Teachers Union.
- No. 538 Columbus Classroom Teachers Association
Columbus and Franklin County, Ohio.

NATIONAL NEWS

Appointment of Professor Counts

Professor George S. Counts of Teachers College, Columbia University, has been appointed chairman of the AFT National Educational Policies Committee.

AFT Protests Chicago Plan

The AFT has protested the plan of the Superintendent of Schools in Chicago to give about 80 per cent of the high school students of that city a purely trade school education. It was pointed out that such a program would lead to higher education only for the privileged few and that modern education should be concerned not only with learning a trade but with successful living in both working and leisure hours.

Speed the Assessment

The National Office reports greatly increased demands from locals for organizational purposes and a greatly awakened interest in organizational work. The special assessment of one dollar per member for organizing purposes is coming in slowly. The National Office urges special attention to this task to meet the increased demands for printed literature, mimeographed material, and organizers.

Executive Council to Meet

The National Executive Council will meet in Chicago on December 29-30, 1937.

NEWS from LOCALS

Cincinnati Local Victorious in School Levy Campaign

The Cincinnati Federation of Teachers, Local 479, entered the recent city election campaign with a vigorous appeal to the citizens to vote for the school tax levy and the bond issue for a school building program. In a stirring news sheet, entitled "You and Your Children" and issued by the local with the assistance of the Newspaper Guild, the Cincinnati Federation called to the attention of the public the degenerating effects of prolonged enforced vacations. The tendency of prolonged vacations to produce delinquency among children in homes where economic conditions make proper care and proper leisure-time facilities impossible, together with the desirability of passing the school tax levy and the school bond issue, was attested to by two presidents of Parent-Teachers Associations, by a Referee of the Girls Division of Juvenile Court, and by the Regional Director of the A. F. of L. and the president of the Cincinnati CIO Industrial Council. Seventeen of Cincinnati's school buildings are between 50 and 80 years old and several were built before the Civil War. In some schools the classrooms are heated by stoves. One school has outside toilets. A photograph in the news sheet shows a class being held in an ill-lighted basement under the shadow of a large hot water tank. 56,000 of these news sheets were distributed by the local. A teachers union speaker addressed every labor union meeting held in Cincinnati during the month of October. The result was a victory. The elections granted the schools a two year operating levy of 2.39 mills.

WPA Section Plans Work for Year

The following set of principles has been issued by the WPA section to guide WPA work for the coming years: 1. A national organization committee shall be formed (is now being formed) with a representative from each area to be chosen by the WPA locals in that area. 2. The fight against dismissals and for continuation and expansion of WPA shall be the central theme of the campaign.

3. The national organizing committee together with the WPA vice-president shall work out a complete legislative program, and use the facilities of the Workers Alliance as well as those of the AFT for matters in Washington. 4. There shall be an exchange of publications between WPA locals throughout the country. 5. The WPA locals shall closely cooperate with the Workers Alliance and local WPA organizations.

Teachers in Akron Live on \$75 a Month

One hundred and fifty teachers in Akron, Ohio, receive an annual income from their teaching which amounts to only seventy-five dollars a month. A recent survey conducted by the Akron Federation of Teachers, Local 287, shows that in the case of these teachers—according to their own statements—financial worries detract from their efficiency. They are not able to buy suitable clothes, cannot pay their debts and are becoming a prey for loan sharks. The Akron local, for the relief of such conditions as these, has waged a forceful campaign for the adoption of a school tax levy in the recent municipal campaigns.

Election Victory in Boston

The election of Joseph Lee to the Boston School Committee in the recent municipal elections is considered a signal victory for the Boston Federation of Teachers, Local 441. The son of the late philanthropist of the same name, Joseph Lee has built a large following through his single-minded devotion to the cause of securing recent play-ground and recreational facilities for the children of Boston. He has had the support of labor in a number of enterprises. His candidacy for the school committee received the endorsement of Labor's Non-Partisan League, the Boston Federation of Teachers, and other labor, progressive, and liberal groups, together with the personal endorsement of a number of labor leaders. In addition, he was endorsed by three of Boston's leading newspapers, which could hardly have failed to endorse his candidacy without giving up all pretense of supporting decency and honesty in city government.

Philadelphia Local Protests New Contracts

Having waged last year under the leadership of the Philadelphia Teachers Union, Local 192, a successful fight for a state tenure law, the teachers of Philadelphia are now asked to sign a contract which, according to legal opinion, perverts the intention of the tenure law. 1. The School Board has classified all new appointees as substitutes, thus depriving them of tenure rights under the law. 2. Contracts have been drawn on the basis of twelve months of service—i.e., a teacher could be impressed, under the contract, for summer teaching without additional salary. 3. The salary schedule written into the contract is not that of the Philadelphia schedule. The School Board, according to *The Philadelphia Teacher*, official organ of Local 192, is at-

tempting, by including these measures in the contract, "to discredit the tenure law and to induce teachers, frightened by these strange developments, to ask for their former status as subjects of a benevolent despot." At a meeting of 1,000 teachers, sponsored by the Teachers Union, Dr. Clarence E. Ackley, Chief of the Division of School Law of the State Department of Public Instruction; Senator Leo C. Mundy, sponsor of the tenure law in the state senate, and Lieutenant Governor Thomas Kennedy, vice-president of the United Mine Workers of America, gave the teachers assurance of their rights under the tenure act. At this meeting a resolution was passed without dissenting voice calling on teachers not to sign contracts until a satisfactory contract is offered. To date, less than 100 contracts out of a possible 9,000 have been signed.

Correction from Buffalo

We are informed by the Buffalo Teachers Union, Local 377, of an important error in this department in the September-October issue of *THE AMERICAN TEACHER*. The Buffalo Teachers Federation, largely responsible for the successful Buffalo Public School Exposition, is not Local 377, and is not affiliated to the AFT. It is a general federation of teachers associations. Local 39, the Industrial Teachers Association, is affiliated with this federation. Local 377 had no official connection with the exposition, and does not wish to take credit which it does not deserve.

North Shore Local Active in Chicago Educational Conference

Members of Local 460, North Shore (Winnetka, etc.), Ill., attending the three day conference of the Progressive Education Conference in Chicago, October 29-31, seized the opportunity to organize a teachers union luncheon. Despite the short notice and the absence of a general announcement, the dining room engaged proved too small. More than half the people present were non-members. Dr. John G. Rockwell, Minnesota State Commissioner of Education, addressed the group. In the question period he stressed the need of union organization for professionals. It has been reported from other sources that members of AFT locals all over the country were active in holding AFT meetings at the Workshop in Secondary School Curriculum of the Progressive Education Association in Bronxville, N. Y., last summer.

Camden Students Strike for Transferred Teachers

As a result of the transfer and demotion of five of their teachers—four of them union members active in the campaign for restoration of salaries in New Jersey—students of the Cooper B. Hatch High School went out on strike on September 29. On the thirtieth, less than 100 out of 900 students were in school, and the striking students promised to "sit in Farnham Park until our teachers are reinstated". Commissioner Mary W. Kobus, president of the Board of Education, was able to persuade 150 students to enter the

school auditorium to talk things over with her. Walter Skiba, mayor of the student government, speaking for the strikers, said: "We want to know why our teachers were demoted and transferred and why we can't have them back." Miss Kobus' efforts were unavailing. However, on Saturday, October 2, the students in order to prevent the threatened arrest of their parents for violation of the law requiring compulsory school attendance of children under sixteen, promised Mr. C. Paul Nay, chief attendance officer of the Board of Education, and Police Judge Mitchell Cohen, that they would return on Monday. They were assured the right of selecting a committee which would present their case to the School Board. The five transferred teachers have appealed to the State Commissioner of Education. The City Solicitor of Camden has announced his opinion that such teacher demotions are illegal. The union expects that within a short time these teachers will be restored to their former positions.

Election Victory in Cleveland

The election of John E. O'Connell in the Cleveland, O., school board elections, together with the election of Dr. George J. Greene as his running mate, assured Cleveland labor of five of the seven places on the school board. Two labor candidates—Frank T. Jamieson and Norman W. Schaeffer, were defeated. The Cleveland Federation of Labor (A. F. of L.) and the Cleveland Industrial Council (CIO) joined in a public statement urging the support of the labor candidates. Although the daily press in Cleveland has been urging labor unity, it was necessary to apply outside pressure to force the leading paper to make a brief acknowledgment revealing that a certain measure of unity had been attained.

Salaries Saved in Trenton

The struggle of the New Jersey educational employees for full salary restoration has culminated in the order of the State Commissioner of Education for full salary payment in Trenton. This order was issued to the Trenton Board of Education following the appeal of Mr. Frederick H. Kriser, janitor in a Trenton primary school, and Mr. Herbert Cole, teacher in a Trenton junior high school, member of Local 437, and president of the New Jersey Federation of Teachers. The state tenure law forbids reduction of teachers salaries. Mr. Cole and Mr. Kriser refused to sign waivers and made the appeal as a test case. If higher courts uphold the decision of the State Commissioner—and it is considered by legal experts an "iron-clad" case—refusal to sign waivers will oblige New Jersey school boards to pay full salaries. The Cole-Kriser case has been watched by teachers throughout the state. It is, however, merely the dramatic climax of a vigorous campaign waged by AFT locals throughout New Jersey. Non-union teachers, notably in Clifton and Montclair, have cooper-

ated. In Atlantic City, Jersey City, Hawthorne, and Passaic, where there are no AFT locals, waivers have been signed and salary reductions are in effect. The teachers union in Paterson has issued blanks for teachers to send to the Secretary of the Paterson Board of Education, stating that the salary check has been accepted "on account or in part payment for services rendered." New Jersey teachers unions also played an important part in preventing the passage of a state law making salary cuts permissive. New Jersey labor organizations have supported the teachers in their struggle. A valuable document recently published by the New Jersey State Federation of Teachers contains an exchange of telegrams between the legislative agent of the State Federation of Teachers, Miss Lois B. St. John, and Governor Harold G. Hoffman, relative to the teachers' protest of illegal use of state troops in a strike last spring at the Thermoid Rubber Company plant in Hamilton township. As a result of the Federation's exposure of the clear illegality of Governor Hoffman's role as strikebreaker, the reactionary press of Trenton had to change its tune, and to find Governor Hoffman's use of troops "another act of questionable judgment".

Amalgamation Completed in Chicago

A charter has now been issued to teachers of Chicago as Local 1 of the American Federation of Teachers. This number originally designated the Chicago Teachers Federation and has not been carried by any local in twenty years. The present Local 1 is the result of the amalgamation of Chicago Men Teachers, Local 2; Chicago Women High School Teachers, Local 3; Elementary Teachers, Local 199, and Playground Teachers. The amalgamation, now complete, has been in process for some time. During last spring, the machinery of amalgamation was set up in the form of a joint Executive Committee for the existing locals. Organizational growth of about 100 per cent accompanied the movement for amalgamation. The Chicago Local—the new Local 1—has over 6,000 teachers, representing about half the teaching staff of Chicago's public schools.

Jewett Case Goes Before Committee in California Legislature

Local 349, Bay Cities, California, has carried the case of Victor Jewett, former Eureka teacher, discharged for union activities in connection with the 1935 lumber strike, to the California Assembly Interim Committee on Labor and Capital. The letter of the local to the legislative committee summarizes the case and requests an opportunity to present the facts in fuller detail. As a teacher of social studies, Jewett was rated as outstanding over a period of six years. No attempt was made to dismiss him until he publicly supported efforts of the lumber workers union to obtain improved wages and conditions. Jewett was then illegally dismissed and later trumped up charges were filed

and prosecuted by the district attorney. "Circumstances surrounding the dismissal of Mr. Jewett," says the Defense Committee's letter to the Legislative Committee, "... throw grave doubt upon the administration of the law, and, in the minds of those familiar with the facts, tend to bring the courts into disrepute as agencies of justice." Locals are advised to adopt resolutions urging the California State Board of Education to drop the case against Victor Jewett, and give him active aid in his efforts to reestablish himself in his chosen work.

Reinstatement in Milwaukee

Milwaukee Public School Teachers Union, Local 252, has won a brief campaign for the reinstatement of a union

member, Earl Raisen. Mr. Raisen was not reassigned in September because he was forty-five years of age. The contention of the local to the effect that merit and skill in teaching should be the basis for appointment, and not age, received the recognition of the Milwaukee Board of School Directors, when on November 2nd the Board voted to suspend the rules in favor of Mr. Raisen. Mr. Raisen resumed teaching duties on November 3. . . . Wives of teachers in Local 252 met on November 12 and organized a union auxiliary. It is reported that the organization will admit to membership the wife of any teacher in any of the five Milwaukee County Locals. The purposes of the auxiliary include social activities, organized buying power, and assistance to unions in membership drives.

Labor Notes

The International Labor Organization

THE IDEA of the International Labor Organization had its inception as long ago as 1914 in a resolution adopted by the American Federation of Labor at its annual convention. In 1919, at the conclusion of the World War, the ILO was established with headquarters in Geneva, Switzerland. The United States, however, did not become a member until 1934. The constitution of the organization states its purpose as the achievement of world peace through social justice, notably through improvements in the economic status of labor. There is a General Conference which meets once a year, a Governing Body or executive council, which meets four times a year, and a permanent office in Geneva known as the International Labor Office. Members of these bodies consist of employer, labor, and government representatives from the member nations. Membership in the League of Nations automatically entails membership in the ILO, which, nevertheless, is independent of the League. Four nations, including the U. S., which are not League members have joined. In all, sixty-two nations are members. The ILO investigates, discusses, and makes public labor problems of an international importance, and adopts treaties or conventions dealing with labor reforms, which members must submit to their respective legislative bodies for ratification. The Office is composed of more than four hundred executives, research workers, and experts from about forty different countries, including several from the United States. The work of this staff consists chiefly in collecting, analyzing, and preparing for publication the available data on labor and industrial subjects from all countries, in making and keeping contact with the member nations, and in carrying on the secretarial and clerical work connected with the Confer-

ence. The organization is supported by contributions from the member nations, the amounts being determined on the basis of relative economic importance. . . . Agreement thus far has been reached upon a number of standards such as minimum wage provisions, child labor, workmen's compensation, etc. When a Convention has been approved by a two-thirds majority of the represented members, it becomes the duty of all members to submit the Convention to their treaty-making bodies. If not ratified immediately, the treaty remains permanently open to full ratification. A Convention becomes effective when it has received the number of ratifications stated in the treaty as necessary to render it operative. Ratification carries with it the obligation to enforce the treaty through legislation or otherwise. It then becomes a labor treaty among the ratifying nations. Countries accepting such conventions are, of course, free to establish higher standards within their own boundaries. Government ratifications have up to the present time been slow. . . . There are several weaknesses inherent in the set-up of the ILO and the way in which it works. One weakness lies in the method of proportioning delegates. In the General Conference and on the Governing Body, the various nations are represented by an equal number of employer and labor delegates, and by government delegates equal in number to the other two groups combined. Superficially, this appears to be an equitable arrangement; but, actually, the instances have been too numerous in which government delegates have joined employer delegates in opposing specific reforms, thus outnumbering the labor delegates three to one. Largely as a result of this arrangement, the activity of the Conference tends to become dissipated in research, resolutions, and recommendations

for further investigation to the Governing Body. A second weakness lies in the method of adopting draft Conventions. This is the method of "double discussion." The full Conference first debates the general subject of a convention, and then lists a series of points on which governments are to be consulted. The following year, the Conference again goes over the same field, and, taking into consideration the observations of the various governments, votes upon the final draft. Sometimes, in case of disagreement, the draft is referred back to a committee for revision and then brought up once more for a vote. A two-thirds majority is required for adoption. Once surmounting the difficulties of adoption, the convention then starts upon the slower and even more uncertain route of ratification. Moreover, ratification, while carrying an obligation, does not carry a guarantee of enforcement. Certainly, the ILO could never be charged with rashness. On the whole, the realization of concrete international reforms in this fashion is at worst meager and at best snailpaced. Nevertheless, the movement even in its present form embodies certain advantages. There is something to be gained, perhaps, in the way of increased international understanding merely from the discussion of common problems and conditions. Such discussion can be fertile in engendering in delegates, particularly the labor delegates, an inquiring critical attitude toward the interaction of political and economic factors in other countries. The ILO is a step in the right direction. It is to be hoped that an improvement in set-up and procedure will carry the organization further toward definite achievements.

Minute Men, 1937

In the spring of 1937, a man was standing on a box, exhorting a gathering of mill workers to join the American Federation of Hosiery Workers. The meeting took place outside the Apex Hosiery Mill in Philadelphia, which had long been embattled in a struggle for union recognition. At that particular time, however, no strike was in progress. Suddenly, a man in the crowd fired at the organizer, who fell severely burned and almost blinded by tear gas. Five or six months later, as a result of this incident, a new vigilante organization, calling itself the Minute Men and Women of Today, blinked in the broad spotlight of newspaper publicity. The organization, started specifically for the purpose of stopping the CIO, was engineered by a charlatan named Blanchard, who is wanted in several states for a long list of swindles and crimes. Revealed as honorary president and "vice-president general" were the names of two prominent local men, one of them a member of a well-known law firm. Revealed, also, were letters in Blanchard's possession from former President Hoover and other prominent Republicans. An impressive list of sponsors and contributors included the Duponts, ubiquitous fairy godfathers of many a vigilante outfit. Examination of Blanch-

ard's person, car, and headquarters yielded a varied assortment of tear-gas guns and rifles. Members of the organization who did the actual dirty work were supplied with tear-gas guns, badges, and one-dollar membership cards. When questioned about their connection with the group, the prominent wealthy gentlemen, whose names had appeared either as officers or sponsors, disclaimed any knowledge of the anti-labor basis of the organization, and declared that they had believed its purpose to be purely that of "upholding the Constitution". Philadelphia's one liberal newspaper gently chided these men for "buying a gold brick", magnanimously refusing to believe that they gave their support "with their eyes open, actuated by an anti-CIO motive." We are asked to believe that these hard-headed business men contributed thousands of dollars to a mushroom organization with the vague purpose of "upholding the Constitution" because they liked the ring-leader's "sound" views on the Constitution! Trade unionists and American lovers of democracy are not so naive and stupid, nor can they afford for one moment the indulgent attitude of Philadelphia's "liberal" paper. Vigilante organizations exist throughout the country, and their existence is a constant menace to the labor movement. Unmistakably fascistic in character, these organizations operate behind a pseudo-patriotic mask, recruiting into their ranks the ignorant and the uncritical who are misled as the Messrs. Dupont are not. Their ranks are further swelled by the lawless and by thugs and gunmen who make their living in that way. Their method of operation recognizes neither law nor humanity. Their fascistic nature is further demonstrated in that, under the hue and cry of a Communist witch hunt, they strike deadly blows at the labor movement precisely as Hitler did in Germany and Mussolini in Italy. The specific anti-CIO basis of the Minute Men is a case in point. Another dangerous symptom meriting serious thought is the connection that has been established in a number of instances between government officials and vigilante strike-breaking movements. For example, in a Pennsylvania town named Elkland, in which the annual tax revenue of \$40,000 has never been adequate for street-paving or sewer-installation, the town burgess used \$7,000 of public funds to import Burns operatives to break a recent strike of leather workers. In Johnstown, during the steel strike, Mayor Daniel Shields accepted \$10,000 from Bethlehem Steel through the banker-head of the vigilante band known as the Johnstown Citizens Committee. He then proceeded to use the police as out-and-out strikebreakers. Whether anything definite will come of the three distinct investigations of the Minute Men, undertaken over a month ago, is highly problematical. That incipient fascism in the form of vigilantism must be checked is indisputable. Labor must assume a more active responsibility toward the solution of this immediate and vital problem. Since that is the case, how very vital is labor unity to a successful fight against the vigilantes!

Among the New Books

Integrating Modern Teaching

THE CHALLENGE OF EDUCATION by the STANFORD UNIVERSITY EDUCATION FACULTY. McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1937, New York. 471 pages. \$3.00.

This is a book worthy of attention from teachers on every level, for the contact is richer than one would expect from the sub-title "An Introduction to Education."

Present problems in education are examined realistically in the light of recent findings in sociology, psychology and biology. Current trends in the schools are summarized and responsibility for future development is laid at the door of a nation which boasts it is a democracy.

P. E. Davidson states concisely the viewpoint of the educational sociologist, who regards school as only one part of the total economic-cultural setting which shapes individuals and groups. He notes wide variations of socio-economic status in the United States and cites eight levels from poverty to luxury, as designated by a competent economist. Obviously the education of children from all these levels does not attain "equality of opportunity". Thus the study of education in a democracy leads to "the growing conviction that political power in the last analysis is an economic matter, and that classes and groups are prone to use such power as they have in their own behalf rather than in the general interest."

The social psychologist, Reginald Bell, carries further the argument that persons are creatures of their environment and the work of the schools a social task. He raises the question as to "how far any particular school or any particular teacher should go in being a force for bringing about social and economic readjustments in the interest of healthful child life."

The educational hygienist, Walter H. Brown, brings evidence to show the paradoxical situation which exists in the United States today. "We live in an age in which the medical sciences have reached an unusual state of development", yet "only a small percentage of individuals receive adequate medical, dental and nursing care", and "we have failed to provide sufficient preventive services through properly equipped and adequately staffed health departments." Teachers know well the truth of these statements as they face classes of children below normal physically. Although modern teachers are concerned with the "whole" child, they cannot be expected to work wonders for the physical and mental health of pupils in the schools, but this responsibility should rest squarely upon the whole community and the whole nation.

Several chapters deserve special comment. Almack has dealt with history of education from the scientific viewpoint and brought out social meanings. "Trends in Education" are summarized by Hand with strong emphasis upon the active role of teachers in a democracy. In another chapter written with Hanna, he discusses teaching as a group enterprise and gives illustrations of curriculum building by the staff of a school system to help pupils understand social change and to prepare them for intelligent participation in government.

As usual, the writers on major subject fields tend to become absorbed in their special areas and to neglect the foundations of education set forth earlier. Yet notable connections with the basic social viewpoint of the book are made in chapters on music, home arts, industrial arts, social studies, English, foreign languages, and commercial subjects.

The superintendent's job is treated idealistically, with no reference to politics. The principal's role is discussed cynically at first, and then a practical analysis is made to show his functions as a leader and his responsibility for the development of the teaching group.

In the final chapter on "Education as a Life Career", facts regarding salaries, contracts, tenure and unemployment are set forth along with the usual points on ethics, status, qualifications, and

rising standards. Freedom of teaching is discussed at length, with stress laid on Newton's statement: "Each teacher must choose whether he will stand with the forces of repression or the forces of enlightenment. If he elects to be neutral, he has taken his stand with the forces of repression." Unfortunately professional organizations are not discussed as factors in the development of teachers and forces in shaping education.

BERYL PARKER.

Into the Mouths of Babies

40,000,000 GUINEA PIG CHILDREN by RACHEL LYNN PALMER and ISADORE M. ALPHER, M.D. 249 pages. The Vanguard Press.

"Write for a free product map of the United States," says a packing house in advertisements directed especially to teachers and pupils. "Write for a free literary map," advertises a candy manufacturer. Write for a free world atlas; send for tree cards; for a bird chart. . . . And the school rooms become unwitting factors in prepared food and patent medicine promotion.

The food and drug advertisers have discovered the "child salesmen" and are spending millions of dollars each year in expanding their markets through the medium of comic strips and radio programs especially designed for the 36,000,000 juveniles. Through this maze of advertising appeals gropes the mother whose moderate budget must provide a well-balanced diet for her growing children, and who has no means of recognizing the insufficient, inferior and oftentimes dangerous product.

Rachel Lynn Palmer, an authority on consumer problems and the author of "Facts and Frauds in Woman's Hygiene", and Dr. Isadore M. Alpher, who is associated with the Resettlement Administration, have prepared a valuable guidebook for the mother, surrounded as she is by high pressure promotion. The book "debunks" those relatively expensive prepared foods whose dietary value, it would seem, is in inverse proportion to cost. It punctures the fraudulent claims and advertising lures put forth not only by food manufacturers but also by the manufacturers of patent medicines, laxatives and drug preparations. And what is more, it "names names".

"40,000,000 Guinea Pig Children" furnishes constructive advice about diet. It tells facts about vitamins and the roles of cereal, milk, bread and other foodstuffs in the diet of young people. The few chapter headings that follow will indicate the scope of the work: *Child Welfare and Business, Foods Children Need, The Sweets They Eat, What to Do about Colds.*

The authors point to the inadequacy of the present Food and Drug Act as partly responsible for mulcting the consumer of millions of dollars annually, and for exposing countless children to great health hazards because of the popularization of actually dangerous products. Wider knowledge and a greater imperviousness to the blandishments of super-advertising, as well as concerted consumer action, are a means of protection. Mrs. Palmer and Dr. Alpher also offer brief hints on the handling of food and health problems of children which will result in the correction of capriciousness—or what passes for such—and also in the greatest food value received for the budget allowance.

The book, though brief, is broad in scope. One wishes there were an index appended. There is much information crowded into its 249 pages and numerous food and drug products are mentioned by name. Its effectiveness as a reference book in the home would be greatly increased if one did not have to thumb through the pages to find the information on burns, or Rem, or Vitamin Concentrate of Cod Liver Oil. Perhaps its second printing will be thus improved. It should have a wide circulation.

LILLIAN FINE.

When Men Become Heroes

THE MAKING OF A HERO, by NICHOLAS OSTROVSKI. Translated from the Russian by ALEX BROWN. New York: E. P. Dutton and Co. 440 pages. \$2.50.

One feels sure that the publishers of *The Making of a Hero* gave the book its title after its author's death. For Ostrovski was a modest man, and all his attention in this thinly disguised autobiographical novel was given to the events of which he was a part. To his mind the heroism was certainly in the rebelling people, and he was quite unconscious of anything especially heroic in his participation. He accepted the revolution as a beneficent historical event in which he found himself involved; involvement in which afforded him education, the fullest exploitation of his talents, the satisfying combination of personal development and altruistic action. A childhood in a small town railroad center, where he was one of the outcast poor; then the coming of the Soviets as a spontaneous movement among the railroad workers; and thereafter a rapid succession of events that took him to Moscow, to the Polish border, to the Black Sea. Paralysis halted this active life and was taken as an opportunity to translate its values into literature.

As in much Soviet fiction, these episodes are kaleidoscopic. The events are as fragmentary and disorderly as social life in a country undergoing revolution and rapid shifts of population. What distinguishes the work is the vivid human quality of these separate scenes. Whatever the limitations of the book as a novel, it is an unforgettable portrait of the new manhood in the Soviet Union.

EDWIN BERRY BURGUM.

Fascists Against Singing Spain

THE SPANISH WHITE BOOK. The Italian Invasion of Spain. Official documents and papers seized from Italian units in action in Guadalajara. Spanish Embassy. Washington, 1937. 319 pages.

The 101 photostatic reproductions of documents found in the possession of Italian officers and soldiers captured in the battle of Brihuega, in March, 1937, which are contained in this book and translated into English, furnish the most shocking proof of Italian intervention in Spain. It is only lately that England and her Non-Intervention Committee have openly recognized Italy's part in the Spanish civil war. For a long time the Spanish authorities strove in vain to be heard before the Non-Intervention Committee and the League of Nations on this point. The fine group of men heading the Spanish Government and ably represented by Alvarez del Vayo finally succeeded, over the protests of Italy and Germany, in having these proofs admitted. Of course, it would be ridiculous to think that England and her allies were ignorant of the facts that Spain was trying to make public, yet Lord Plymouth at one stroke absolved all European countries of guilt in interfering on the peninsula. It is impossible to read these documents without becoming convinced of the flagrant violation by the Italians of all precedents of international law.

Aside from a short note by Fernando de los Rios, Spanish Ambassador at Washington, to the people of the United States and a note from the Spanish Government, signed by Alvarez del Vayo, to the British Empire, the League of Nations and Russia, there are no comments, for the documents speak for themselves and prove beyond a doubt that Italy stands accused officially of fighting on the side of the rebels against the duly constituted democratic government of Spain.

No attempt has been made to add to this book any other interest than that furnished by the bare facts, which should be sufficient to convince the most skeptical reader of the crying injustice that has been perpetrated and continues to be perpetrated against a people who are fighting and dying, not only to retain the form of government that expresses them, but, with a full sense of their responsibility, to defend the principle of democracy throughout the world.

... AND SPAIN SINGS. Fifty Loyalist Ballads, edited by M. J. BENARDETE and ROLFE HUMPHRIES. New York: *The Vanguard Press*. \$1.00. (All royalties from the sale of this volume will be

paid to the North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy.)

This little volume of poems, written in the white heat of Spain's heroic struggle to hold her own against the enemy from without and the traitor from within, is gripping in its intensity. Originally in Spanish ballad form, for which, unfortunately, there is no English equivalent, these poems have nevertheless been adapted with fine skill and a true sense of their spirit by a distinguished group of American poets. As ballads, they are being sung in the trenches, the poets expressing themselves through the people, the people through the poets.

To read them is to become momentarily part of the very conflict itself, to feel the pathos, the irony, the contempt for death, the pride, the fierce defiance of a spirited race. One sees the wheat fields, left burning by the marauders, and the olive groves whose fire, unquenchable, shall spread through all Spain; hears the poignant cry in "Against the Cold in the Sierras": "O September wind and rain, Be compassionate for Spain"; one feels anguish in its utmost depths at the loss of a friend expressed in the exquisite rendering by Edna St. Vincent Millay of "The Arrival", written by Emilio Prado and dedicated to Federico Garcia Lorca, one of Spain's foremost poets, who was executed by the Fascists in Granada.

Throughout, one is profoundly stirred by the amazing courage of the people. Despair is not in these poems. Songs of a newly-awakened consciousness, they fling a rousing challenge to a sick and almost disheartened world.

PEDRO VILLA FERNANDEZ.

Society in the Classroom

CURRICULUM MAKING IN THE SOCIAL STUDIES, by LEON C. MARSHALL and RACHEL MARSHALL GOETZ. Part XIII, Report of the Commission on the Social Studies. *American Historical Association, Scribner's*, New York, 1936. \$1.75.

This is a book for people who welcome a scientific approach to social education and an active program for intelligent control of the forces now shaping society. The authors have summarized findings from basic sciences in order to sketch the process of human adjustment to changes in environment. They stress the social nature and role of man, in order to point out the kinds of social action that should be encouraged in school life and work.

Here is a broad outline for teachers who are trying to make the classroom a place where knowledge is used and experiences in group living are guided to break down prejudice, to build standards of social justice, and to train children and youths in techniques of group action.

"Building America", published monthly through May by the Society for Curriculum Study, is unique in the field of periodicals. Each issue is a monograph on some subject of social significance and of general interest. There have been seventeen numbers published to date covering such subjects as housing, communications, recreation, the constitution, safety, the movies. The information is reliable, concise, absolutely up-to-the-minute and amazingly comprehensive, considering the scope and importance of the subjects covered. The articles are interesting and stimulating and each issue contains an excellent bibliography on the subject. This bibliography, one of the most valuable features of the publication, gives references to books, magazines, pamphlets, government documents, etc. It is briefly annotated and gives complete information as to publisher, price and means of obtaining material to which it refers.

All issues are available singly in the original pamphlet form; the first nine may now be had in a cloth bound book, "Building America" Vol. I.

ELIZABETH MERRITT,
Librarian—Walden School.

Book Notes and Recommendations

In other issues in this department the reader will find reviews of books issued under the imprint of Modern Age Books, Inc., of 155 East 44th St., N. Y. C. This marks not merely the emergence of a new publisher, but of a new idea of such importance to American teachers that it deserves further emphasis here. Good books generally cost \$2.00 to \$5.00; most MA books are sold for 25 and 35 cents. Few people have formed the habit of going to bookstores, whereas millions buy newsstand periodicals regularly. MA books are sold

on stationery counters and newsstands where they will soon be available to every one.

The real value of this new venture, however, lies in the excellence of the books published. The list includes new books in many fields as well as reprints of titles of established value, the whole showing an understanding on the part of the editors of what the American public, with its growing consciousness of its own economic and cultural needs, really wants to read when it can afford the price. In addition to the books reviewed here, others of special interest include an excellent juvenile list; volumes of short stories by Walter Duranty and William Saroyan; "The United States: A Graphic History", and many more coming.

Further increasing the cultural value of the newsstand is the quarterly "Photo-History", an exciting, attractive and informative magazine of pictures. It differs from other picture magazines by devoting each issue to a single phase of our changing world, a phase so important that no one can afford to be ignorant of its nature and implications. The first two numbers, "War in Spain" and "Labor's Challenge", are admirable achievements in pedagogy as well as in intelligent and honest editing; "War Is Here" is the current issue.

BORIS GAMZUE.

Correspondence

Letters dealing with issues of interest to union teachers will be printed in these columns. Inclusion of a letter does not necessarily mean that the Editors endorse its sentiments.

Psychologists Study Social Issues

To the Editors:

The tradition that psychology is a sterile science concerned only with such problems as the length of time it takes a white rat to get from one point to another, or the qualitative variations in negative after-images, has long annoyed the more socially minded members of the psychological profession. Many of us have felt for years that psychology is really useful in the analysis of social problems. There had been, however, no organization through which the efforts of such individuals could be coordinated and made more fruitful.

After considerable preliminary planning and work, we were finally able at the Dartmouth meeting of the American Psychological Association to organize a group specifically devoted to the psychological study of such problems. Yielding to demands for description rather than a meaningless title, we called it the Society for the Psychological Study of Social Issues.

The purposes of the Society are defined by the By-Laws as follows: "to work effectively for both the immediate and ultimate freedom of psychology to do its utmost to make contemporary American society intelligible to its members; and to test hypotheses regarding social change. This society shall be a body for the promotion and protection, by any means decided upon by its membership, of psychological research on controversial topics, especially those related to the central fields of economics and politics; and the encouragement of the application of the findings of psychology to the problems of society."

The activities of the Society have not yet become extensive. The main project under consideration at present is the establishment of a series of yearbooks on controversial problems in the field of social psychology. The Council of Directors has already decided to begin this series in 1938. The subject will be chosen from among such topics as: the psychology of industrial conflict; problems of war and peace; race prejudice and race relations, etc.

It has also decided that the Council shall act as a committee on public information when matters of psychological nature are before the public for consideration. This means not only that erroneous statements on psychology are to be refuted, but also that a certain amount

of positive educational work is to be carried on. It is hoped, for example, that the fallacious "instinct theory" of war can be completely discredited by planned action of this type. A recent activity of the Council was in connection with the action of the Ohio Welfare Department in hiring a graphologist as advisor to the state parole board. We issued a statement calling attention to the danger of such untried techniques in matters of probation and parole. This statement received wide publicity in Ohio and may have some ultimate value in preventing the continuance or recurrence of such actions.

Since society as a whole is composed of human beings, the science of psychology should be useful in the study of social problems. We hope that the S. P. S. S. I. will be an important agent in promoting a significant and effective social psychology.

ROSS STAGNER
Akron University.

Associated Film Audiences

To the Editors:

There was a time when educators disdained recognition of the motion picture, or attempted to counteract its effects by ignoring it. Then, there followed the period of recognizing the movies as an agency concomitant with the school in conditioning our culture. Today, most alert adults, if not educators, are only too well aware that it would be well with the schools if they possessed a fraction of the influence that Hollywood wields over the young. Consequently, it becomes the function of teachers, particularly the progressive variety who recognize the importance of extra-school agencies, to estimate the effects of this powerful force for moulding public opinion. It even becomes our duty, where we can, to bend our energies in any direction which might serve to make this vital tool serve the progressive interests of democratic America.

Associated Film Audiences represents the interests of church, social racial, labor, educational and youth groups. Its purpose is to give Hollywood every encouragement to produce films that give a true and socially useful portrayal of the contemporary scene; to encourage production of films that will better the understanding between racial and religious groups and to encourage the production of anti-war films. Conversely, it is opposed to any film portraying militarist, anti-labor or reactionary attitudes in a favorable light.

The A. F. A. at present consists of representatives from a host of labor, peace, church, social, youth, and racial groups. Honorary Chairman Dr. Worth M. Tippy, of the Federal Council of Churches of Christ of America and Dr. William H. Kilpatrick are members of the Executive Board. Other affiliated organizations, in addition to those mentioned, are National Urban League, I. L. G. W. U., United Textile Workers, American Jewish Congress, American Youth Congress, Women's International League for Peace and Freedom. Incidentally, the A. F. A. has been received with interest and acclaim in the movie colony, as well as in the press, both of which feel it is a force to be reckoned with.

The operation of the group is quite simple. Three members of a Review Board, composed of representatives from affiliated organizations, preview pictures. A bi-monthly news bulletin is distributed to member groups and individuals. The reports contain comments on pictures, shorts, newsreels, etc. Recommendations about films are made, either for support or opposition.

Member groups may then act in any way they deem advisable. They may, for example, seek further light, pass resolutions, or relay the information by publications for individual member action, or organize picketing campaigns, or use the press or a mail barrage, or indulge in any other action.

ABRAHAM TAUBER
New York City.

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Social Change in Europe

To the Editors:

A selected group, especially interested in the processes and results of social change, will visit next summer the four countries of Europe where the most extraordinary cultural transformations of recent years have been attempted: Italy, Turkey, Soviet Russia and Germany. In each country visits and interviews are being arranged to bring out some aspects of the civilization which have undergone drastic change, and others which have stubbornly resisted change. Attempts will be made to discover how individual lives have been affected—for better or for worse—by what has happened in the social order.

There is opportunity for a limited number of teachers who may be interested in joining this study expedition. It is neither a commercial enterprise nor a credit course. Dates: July 1 to September 1. Total cost about \$800. Further information may be obtained from Goodwin Watson, 525 West 120 Street, New York City.

GOODWIN WATSON.

A Request for Information

To the Editors:

In studying the A. F. of L.-CIO question, I have felt the need of reading some of the official literature of the CIO. Can you supply me with a list of such of their publications as would be pertinent to the AFT problem? I would also appreciate knowing their prices and the address to which orders should be sent.

HERBERT HARRIS,
Philadelphia, Pa.

The publications listed below are issued by the Committee for Industrial Organization, 1106 Connecticut Avenue N. W., Washington, D. C. Orders should be sent directly to them.

GENERAL LEAFLETS

**The CIO and the White Collar Worker.* (5c.) A discussion of the need of government employees and other white collar workers for a vertical union.

**The CIO—What It Is and How It Came to Be.* (5c.) A brief history of the Committee for Industrial Organization.

**Labor and the Nation.* By John L. Lewis. (10 for 20c.) A reprint of a speech delivered over the Columbia Network, September 3, 1937.

The Case for Industrial Organization. (10c.) A study of the situation in the crafts and the industries with regard to labor organizations.

Industrial Unionism—The Vital Problem of Organized Labor. (10c.) A reprint of the minority resolution (favoring industrial unionization) as submitted to the 1935 A. F. of L. Convention, and the speeches of Charles P. Howard and John L. Lewis at the same convention.

NEWS SERVICE

Union News. A weekly news sheet. To individuals, \$1 per year.

PROBLEMS IN SPECIFIC INDUSTRIES

How the Rubber Workers Won. (5c.)

Industrial Democracy in Steel. By John L. Lewis. (5c.)

*Issued during 1937.

Attention, Playwrights

To the Editors:

Please publish the following item in *The American Teacher*: The Teachers' Union of New York, Local 5, is offering a prize of \$50 for the best one-act or full length original play submitted by January 1, 1938. The play must deal either with Trade Unionism, Teacher-Parent Problems, the Fight for Free Schools, or any other theme of great social interest. The judges are:

Prof. Edwin Berry Burgum, Chairman, College Division of Local 5

Harold A. Clarke, Vice-President, Local 5 Author of *Chalk Dust*

Maurice F. Riedman, Chairman, Arts Committee, Teachers' Union, Local 5

All plays will be considered with the view of production by the Players Group of the Teachers Union, Local 5, and by other locals of the American Federation of Teachers.

Send all plays to Maurice F. Riedman, The Teachers Union, 114 E. 16th St., New York City.

JULES W. ADOLPHE
Secretary, Art Committee

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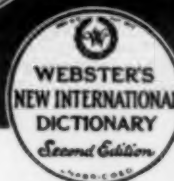
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Propaganda Analysis

A Monthly Letter to Help the Intelligent Citizen Detect and Analyze Propaganda

INSTITUTE FOR PROPAGANDA ANALYSIS, INC.
132 MORNINGSID DRIVE, NEW YORK, N. Y.

Volume I

OCTOBER, 1937

Number 1

This Monthly Letter is circulated privately to educators and students, publishers and journalists, business men and trade unionists, ministers and welfare workers, and to all who desire periodic, objective appraisals of today's propagandas, their sources and the channels through which they flow: newspapers, magazines, radio stations, motion pictures, labor and business groups, patriotic societies, farm organizations, schools, churches, political parties.

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THE INSTITUTE FOR PROPAGANDA ANALYSIS is a non-profit corporation organized for scientific research in methods used by propagandists in influencing public opinion. It will conduct a continuous survey and analysis of propagandas. By objective and scientific scrutiny of the agencies, techniques, and devices utilized in the formation of public opinion, it will seek to show how to recognize propaganda and appraise it.

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I enclose \$2.00 for one year's subscription to *Propaganda Analysis* beginning October 1937. This entitles me to receive 12 issues of the monthly letter, *Propaganda Analysis*. (Most subscribers want to begin with the October issue; which includes a statement of the aims and methods of the Institute.)

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